Foreign, and particularly English, influences on educational policies in Greece during the War of Independence and their development under Capodistrias, 1821-1831.

Dimaras, Alexios

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1973

Thesis submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at London University by Alexios Dimaras.

A B S T R A C T

1. The formulation of an educational policy in Greece during the War of Independence within the general framework of social and political developments of the time, has not been investigated before. This thesis, which concentrates on theories rather than actions, demonstrates that such a policy had been defined.

2. During the years preceding the outbreak of the War, pedagogical theories had developed in Greece, and schools had been organised. This strengthened a growing belief that education was closely linked with freedom and independence. Influences from foreign countries were particularly strong, and during the War the sphere of English influence increased considerably. The Lancasterian method of instruction was believed to be of primary value.

3. After a first period when education was considered to be the responsibility of local authorities, the system became centralised and clauses on education were included in the Constitutions. An administrative organisation was planned, and subsequently a Secretariat of State for Education was created.

4. Among the foreign agencies interested in promoting education in Greece, the British and Foreign School Society was the most active and efficient. French and American influences also existed but were less effective.

5. The scheme emerging from this investigation appears complete, providing for three levels of education: primary, secondary and University, with a parallel development of the private sector, protected by the Constitution and under considerable foreign influence.

6. As part of the general policy adopted by President Capodistrias (1828-1831), education was not encouraged beyond the primary level; private initiative and foreign influences were discouraged. The scheme adopted later by the Bavarian administration, though reminiscent of the one planned during the War, was designed to serve different principles and was subjected exclusively to German influences.

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The preparation of this thesis involved research in libraries and archives such as the British Museum Library; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Burrows Library, King's College, London; the Bruce Castle Museum, Tottenham; the Library of the Institut Neohellénique of the Sorbonne; the Basler Mission, Basel: to their staff I address my sincere thanks. I am particularly indebted to the Librarian and staff of the Library of the Borough Road College, Isleworth, and to Mr.G.F. Bartle, Head of the History Department at the same college, as well as to Dr.F. Rosen, of the Bentham Project, University College, London, for their help in my investigations. To the Library Committee of the Religious Society of Friends; the Librarian of the Church Missionary Society; the Librarian of University College, London; and the Directorate of the Kentron Neoellinikon Erevnon, Athens, I wish to express my gratitude for being allowed to quote from material in their archives. I am also grateful to many friends, and particularly Mrs.C. Coumarianou and Mrs.L. Droulia, who have provided me with material from Libraries and from the Genika Archeia tou Kratous in Athens, as well as from Paris.

It is, however, to those who have helped in a more direct and personal way that I should like to express my deepest appreciation: to Professor D.M. Nicol, whose kindness and moral support have been a constant encouragement; to my supervisor, Mr. Richard Clogg, without whose help this study would never have been begun or finished; to Miss E. Mary Elliot of the King's College Library who was always ready to assist, even in moments of crisis, with a smile; and to Miss Dorothy Trollope, who patiently and skilfully offered her guidance through the intricacies of English prepositions and participles.

But whatever help and encouragement teachers and friends gave me, my efforts would not have come to fruition without the whole-hearted support of those closest to me: my parents, to whom I am indebted for both their material assistance and their intellectual guidance; my children, who endured, usually in good spirit, a father who was not available to play or talk when he ought to have been; and to my wife, who not only managed to create at home the proper atmosphere for work by keeping the necessary balance between peace and noise in the family, but also offered her direct assistance in more than one way.

July 1972

A.D.

Note on the Transliteration of Greek Names and Titles

In the absence of any satisfactory or commonly accepted rules regulating the use of the Roman alphabet for the spelling of Greek names and titles, and in view of the technical difficulties of inserting them in the original script, an attempt has been made in this text to compromise between a phonetic transcription and the visual picture of the Greek word. For some names and their derivatives preference has been given to a form traditionally used in English.

CHAPTER I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The outbreak of the War of Independence in 1821 marks a new era for Greece, even if it is not always accepted by historians as the beginning of the modern Greek state (1). It is, however, significant that right from the outset the Greeks appear to have felt it necessary to organize on a comprehensive basis those parts of their land which were gaining their independence. This is evident not only in the form and content of the first Greek Constitution (promulgated on 1 January 1822), but also in several measures taken or anticipated in an attempt to establish institutions and agencies not directly related to the war effort. To a considerable extent these seem to express values and beliefs which had been combined in the national concept of independence during the years immediately preceding the War, commonly known as the period of the "Greek Enlightenment"(2). In this context the organisation of a national system of education was, understandably, among the basic aims. The intellectual leaders had long stressed the significance of education as a primary factor in the nation's preparation for independence, and although there is no evidence of the extent to which these ideas were conveyed to the "masses", it appears that a popular faith in the benefits to be expected from education and its

relationship to freedom had developed. Moreover, internationally at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century education was increasingly becoming the preoccupation of state authorities, and thinkers such as Condorcet, Jefferson and Owen, to mention only some of the most eminent, had made education a major issue in their political and social reform plans.

Yet, in Greek general histories of the period, and in histories of modern Greek education in particular, there appears to be little mention of such a tendency (3). Greek histories of education, of course, traditionally belong to what has been described as "evential histories" (4), concentrating on detailed accounts of happenings, without attempting interpretations or comparisons. Thus they tend to limit their interest to developments leading to present-day institutions, and to examine these institutions in isolation, disregarding principles and influences which determined their establishment. As a general rule, too, and following the same pattern, they tend to ignore or disregard unsuccessful attempts made to reform the prevailing system of education.

This may be the reason why such histories take as the starting point of their surveys the beginning of the reign of King Otho (1833). For the periods preceding it (the "revolutionary" years of the War itself, and the rule of President Ioannis Capodistrias) have almost no relevance to present)day institutions, and have comparitively sparse, if indeed any, records of "facts and figures". However, this

approach resembles the simple "archaeology of education" rejected by Durkheim (5) rather than the investigation of the laws of evolution which tends to characterise modern historiography. In this respect, the study of educational developments of the years preceding the foundation of the present system in the middle 1830's seems essential. Even accepting that the history of education on the whole, more than general history, is marked by a desire to interpret the present by looking at the past, such an investigation might illustrate and explain some features of the Greek system. It would also complement the picture of the intellectual climate within which the War was fought. It will demonstrate that the two tendencies, the one "Westernising" and the other more directly centred on "pure" Greek values, which have already been detected in Greek politics, literature, and ecclesiastical affairs of the time, existed also in the field of education (6).

What is relevant, however, in the present context, is not so much the investigation of the opinions held on educational matters by individuals, as their formulation at the policy-making level as part of a new national philosophy of politics and government. This is how the subject is approached in this study the first aim of which is to examine to what extent during the War of Independence clear views had been officially expressed in Greece on the necessity for the establishment of an educational system, and , more important, whether its

targets and form had been clearly defined before the achievement fo full independence. There is no intention of presenting a history of institutions nor of recording practical measures taken. In situations like the one under consideration it seems far more significant to examine expressions of intention and aspirations rather than to compile statistics.

Once this is established it would appear necessary to investigate the extent to which foreign influences, particularly English, have, or could have, contributed to the formulation of these policies. This, then, is the second aim of the present study. Such an investigation has also direct relevance to more recent characteristics of the educational system which since 1833 has been under almost exclusive German influence (7). Yet, at the time of the War of Independence, there were strong links between Britain and Greece, and it would be natural to expect them to have had some influence on the formulation of the values and institutions of the new Greek state, at least in social questions such as education. Thus, one of the most active philhellenic societies was the London Greek Committee, founded in 1823, and its contribution to the War went beyond mere military assistance. Its agents included persons such as Colonel Leicester Stanhope and Captain Edward Blaquiere, who were also keenly interested in political and cultural matters. Lord Byron, too, a

hesitant and reluctant friend of the embattled Greeks, did more for them than many others who threw all their enthusiasm into the cause. His presence in Greece undoubtedly contributed to the strengthening of the possibilities of English influence there. Similarly, the loans raised in England on behalf of the Greek government may have been, on both sides, a story of dubious mismanagement, but on the Greek side they widened the sphere of English influence. More relevant to the topics discussed here than these political events is the activity of Lord Guilford, who, by his explicit interest in the Greeks and their education, his sponsoring of Greek students studying abroad, and later, in 1824, by the foundation of his university, the Ionian Academy, in Corfu, focussed the attention of the Greeks on the possibilities offered by English educationalists, and created a small but influential group of promulgators of English ideas among the intellectual leaders of the Greeks. Moreover, the work of the English missionary societies, too, had been initially effective in the presentation of English ideas (8).

Thus, after a beginning full of suspicions and mistrust, caused, among other reasons, by the British cession of Parga to the Sultan, and by the reserved attitude of Sir Thomas Maitland, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, towards the Greeks at the commencement of their fight, an atmosphere of dependence, possibly of trust, and certainly of influence was created in Greece vis à vis England. There

is adequate proof of the Greek response to this situation: not only was Edward Blaquiere perhaps the one foreigner to be invited to address the National Assembly (in 1824), but that same body considered inviting seven English experts to act as special advisers to the Greek Ministries. In the same context, mention should also be made of the very controversial but none the less significant Act of Submission to England made by a group of leading Greek politicians in 1825. All this must be seen against the background of a comparatively favourable official English policy towards Greece — in which George Canning played a considerable role - and the comparatively smaller impact created by similar approaches made, among others, to Russia, the Pope, and the Knights of Malta. Even France, though still a dominant cultural influence — mainly through Korais and his circle — had lost its favourable place in the feelings of the Greeks since she had changed her Mediterr-anean policy and had backed Mohammed Ali. Such a situation, even if initially motivated by policical opportunism, must surely have driven the prevailing principles and ideas in Greece at the time towards English prototypes, while hopes for military assistance were still focussed on Russia. (9).

The third aim of this study was based on the generally accepted fact that English influences on present-day Greek education are virtually nil. It seemed, then, essential to investigate the development under Capodistrias' rule, of tendencies and influences which had manifested themselves

during the period of the War. As part of his general attitude towards the Greeks and foreigners, a policy of "isolationism" was followed, hostile to outside influences, especially those of a progressive nature (10).

These factors have determined the chronological limits of the present thesis, as well as the character of its contents, and of the research it has involved. The lack of an existing comprehensive study made a full investigation, based chiefly on primary sources, of the period of the War necessary. Moreover, this study is concerned mainly with the negative aspects of Capodistrias' educational policy, since the positive side of it has repeatedly been described (11).

The same reasoning has also determined the limitation of the research in terms of geographical areas covered. It is basically restricted to parts of the country that were eventually included within the boundaries of the new state in 1833. Thus Crete is omitted and so are the Ionian Islands (then under British rule) and the very considerable Greek communities which remained under Turkish rule. Although, when appropriate, educational developments in these areas, especially in the Ionian Islands, are considered in the following pages as sources of influence on official Greek attitudes.

From a methodological point of view, it should be noted that the indistinct picture of the overall system of

education envisaged during the War of Independence in Greece, as it emerges from the relatively scarce information which has survived, could reflect influences of any of a number of European systems or theories, or of none at all in particular, since, not surprisingly, there appears to be no record of the processes which led to its choice and formulation. And yet, by its external characteristics, and especially in comparison with attitudes adopted later, the system proposed for Greece before the arrival of Capodistrias, gives the impression of being "progressive".

Under the circumstances described above the detection of influences on Greek educational policy-making during the War had to be based to a considerable extent on an investigation of the background and personality of those who were most active in education at the time: the legislators, the administrators, the teachers. Here again, however, research was hindered by the almost complete absence of monographs on the relevant people and topics (12). Thus an analysis became necessary before any attempt was made to compose an overall picture of the situation. This stage is reflected in the following pages by detailed chronological or biographical accounts of "minor" figures and events, which otherwise would seem unnecessary or out of proportion. Indeed, this necessity was not confined to people and matters directly related to education, nor only to foreigners: special research, occasionally extended, had to be made, for instance, in order to establish the

details of the life and activities of eminent teachers such as Georgios Constantinou, who had been trained at the Borough Road School of the British and Foreign School Society, and of foreigners who played a role in Greek education at the time, such as Christian Lewis Korck, the German agent of the Church Missionary Society, and the Frenchman, Henri-Auguste Dutrone. No adequate studies existed of the educational activities of agencies such as the Philomuse Society founded in Athens (with a branch in Vienna) in 1813 and revived in 1824, and the Philanthropic Society of Nafplion; nor had their foreign connections been investigated before. Further, an attempt to establish the origins of educational policies reflected in the first Greek Constitutions made it necessary to study the possible prototypes of these texts, since no detailed analysis of this topic seems to exist (13). In several instances "accepted" beliefs which are commonly repeated in general or specialised histories are shown to be ill-founded.

If, by what has been said above, the study of educational policies during the War of Independence and the foreign influences to which they had been subjected seems to be overdue, it would perhaps appear nevertheless to be premature when seen from a different viewpoint. The lack of monographs, already referred to, and the fact that some documents on basic issues are still known only through secondary sources might support such a suggestion. However, it is believed that the picture emerging from both the

analysis and the synthesis involved in this study is as complete and definite as it can be when knowledge depends only on written evidence, and when the survival of that evidence has depended on chance rather than on any other factor. It is hoped that the facts and arguments set out in the following pages adequately demonstrate the existence of educational policies in Greece during the War; that they were liberal in the context of their time, and elucidate their main foreign sources of inspiration, as well as the contrast between them and attitudes adopted later. Existing gaps in documentation or in the chronological sequence of events may eventually be filled and complete the details of the picture. It is not expected that they will alter the basic arguments set forth here.

CHAPTER II

T H E B A C K G R O U N D

When Leicester Stanhope arrived in Greece late in 1823, more than two years after the outbreak of the War of Independence, he observed that there were no schools in the country (1). Similarly, on Capodistrias' arrival in January 1828 the War had devastated Greece, and again it has been said that no school was functioning, a point often stressed by those who want to increase the importance of his contribution to Greek education (2). Both statements seem to be true, but they offer only a part of the picture, because the existence or lack of functioning educational establishments at those times is insignificant since it depended most probably on external factors, which had little relation to the prevailing desires or common aspirations of the people and their leaders. These statements, indeed, refer only to a particular year, or even month, and it should be taken into account that before the arrival of Stanhope (as well as before that of Capodistrias, as will be seen) schools had existed, and had only recently been destroyed owing to the circumstances of the War and of internal strife. Consequently, an investigation of the early Greek educational policies since 1821 cannot be based on the assumption that their formulators were working without

a pre-existing foundation.

In the sphere of theory, for example, it could be said that the existence of a neo-hellenic pedagogy can be traced back to Nikolaos Sofianos, a scholar from Corfu who lived in Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century. His work is neo-hellenic in the sense that he both recognised a particular identity for the Greeks of his time, and used in writing the spoken form of the language; it is pedagogical in the sense that he was concerned with the effectiveness of the teaching methods applied at the time, and with the necessity of education for the Greeks. Significantly, Sofianos' work comprises a Grammar of Modern Greek and a translation of Plutarch's Peri Paidon Agogis (3).

But it was only two centuries later that a really new theory of education was expressed in Modern Greek. It was the work of Iosipos Moisiodax, who was influenced by Locke, and whose interests covered, apart from pedagogy, the classics, mathematics, and natural sciences. Probably formulating a tendency already existing among the Greek thinkers and teachers, he not only attacked the traditional teaching of grammar for its own sake, but he also put forward the view that the teacher's task is not restricted to transmitting knowledge to his pupils but extends to their moral training; he has to play a specific role in society (4). Dimitrios Katartzis, or Fotiadis, should also be mentioned here as having expressed a particular interest in education, and for having included in his pedagogical

writings, perhaps more than his comtemporary Moisiodax, the pedagogical principles of the French Enlightenment as they are expressed in the Encyclopédie (5).

What distinguishes these representatives of Greek pedagogical thought from other scholars active during the same period is not so much their concern with the subject (in which they were not alone) but their attitude towards a modern Greece as opposed to a Greece seeking to resurrect traditional values. For them the use of the spoken form of the language was directly related to the necessary assimilation of other people's thought as well as to the understanding of (instead of mere submission to) ancient Greek doctrines. This may be an oversimplified distinction , but such a differentiation had since become a permanent characteristic of Greek thought, both in the field of philosophy and in educational theory (6).

However,. then as today, the influence of such "progressive" thinkers was only indirectly felt in the more practical aspects of education, and they had comparitively little following. On the contrary, Adamantios Korais, dominated Greek culture during the years preceding and following the War of Independence, and he appears to have been more effective and more influential than his predecessors (7). Born in Smyrna in 1748, Korais passed most of his life in Western Europe, first in Amsterdam and Montpellier, and then in Paris, where he settled in 1788; he died there in 1833. Regarding Greek education he took a

decisive step away from pure theorising towards planned action, his belief and message being that the nation had to be educated before gaining its independence and that education was the essential precondition for the preservation of its freedom. This education, he believed, should be based not on the teaching of grammar but on training in philosophical thinking, since, in accordance with the doctrines of English empiricism and French enlightenment, virtue can be taught. The main objective should be the metakenosis (8), the transfusion of the culture of "enlightened Europe" into the Greek world with a parallel study of ancient Greek authors, of the contents of their writings and not only the language they used. Moreover, since he was thinking in terms of a national regeneration through education he became also particularly interested in the methods by which such a plan could be put into effect: on the one side material should be made available through publications, translations and the circulation of periodicals, and on the other, schools should be founded in great numbers where teachers trained in Europe would be employed, and the Lancasteriam or mutual method of instruction applied at the elementary level.

This practical aspect of Korais' teachings seems to be more relevant than their theoretical foundations to the present investigation of the atmosphere within which national policies on education were formulated during the War of Independence. Because, though there is evidence, as

will be seen, that he was generally listened to and respected by his compatriots, it appears likely that what was commonly understood and applicable was his advice on the need for more schools and better teachers, for more books and new methods. Intthis respect it should also be remembered that the Greeks had already established a relatively good record of cultural and educational activities, the peak of which can be observed in the last decades before the outbreak of the War (9). Resulting from the tolerance — or rather the indifference - of the Turks in matters related to the education of their non-Muslim subjects, this development was encouraged by such external factors as the independence of the Greek Church, the flourishing of Greek merchant communities in Europe, Asia Minor, and Russia, and the privileges gained in 1774 through the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji (10).

Thus during the years examined here Greek schools were functioning in the area which was later to become the new Greek state, as well as in places which were to remain out of it, either temporarily or permanently. They apparently covered the whole scale from elementary instruction to almost university-level teaching, though it should be borne in mind that the very wealthy and the high administrators employed private teachers for their children, who were often sent to universities in Europe to complete their studies. Of the existing schools some, understandably among those offering education of a higher

level, gained considerable fame, and thus contributed further encouragement to the spreading belief in the value of education. Such famous schools were functioning at the time in Constantinople and Ioannina (both already flourishing during the seventeenth century) as well as in Patmos, Smyrna, Mount Athos, Mesolongi, Dimitsana, Ayvalik (Kydonies), Milies, Chios, and other places. More often than not their fame depended on their principal or only teacher, and they were at the time centres for the acquisition of knowledge and for the dissemination of new ideas. This is particularly true of those that were not under the control of the Church (as was the one in Constantinople) or in the hands of loyal followers of its doctrines (such as those of Mount Athos, Paros, and, for a time, Chios) (11).

Some distinguished teachers of those schools will be mentioned in the following pages of this study, since they played important roles in educational matters during the War. Such, for instance, is the case of Neofytos Vamvas, for a time head of the School of Chios. He was initially among the most loyal and trusted disciples of Korais but moved steadily away from his influence to become finally the main representative of all what was anathema to his former mentor (12). This, however, was not until after the end of the War, during which, though not officially employed in educational posts, he served as an important link between the English missionaries and the Greeks

through his participation in their efforts to translate the Bible into Modern Greek (13). Similarly Anthimos Gazis and Grigorios Constantas of the School of Milies in Thessaly were given important tasks in education during the War and are often referred to in the next chapters.

Veniamin (Lesvios) Karre is another of the distinguished teachers of the time; "a man of great versatility and a very great educator" (14), he taught metaphysics, ethics, physics and the various branches of mathematics successively - in Ayvalik, Bucharest and Smyrna. During the War he served the country as a member of the National Assembly and of special committees, but was not involved in ahy direct way in educational policy-making; he died in 1824. Also formerly at Ayvalik was Theofilos Kairis; he, too, became a member of the National Assembly during the War. He deserves special mention here because he later established in his native island of Andros an educational institution which was completely independent of state control at a time when centralisation was becoming the outstanding characteristic of Greek education, and also because he delivered a well-known and very controversial speech of welcome on Capodistrias' arrival in Aigina. In it he urged the new President to rule in a way that would make it clear that it was not he who governed but "truly the law of God, Justice itself, and the laws of Greece" (15).

Athanasios Psalidas, who taught initially at the school in Ioannina and did not join his compatriots during the War,

and should normally, therefore, have been left out of this survey, is referred to here not only for his outstanding personality but also because from Ioannina he moved to Corfu where he acted as a liaison with foreign sympathisers with the Greek cause, being particularly concerned in matters related to the cultural regeneration of the nation. In his teachings, which embraced a number of subjects and covered several levels of education, he was influenced mostly by Locke and Kant; he also taught experimental physics, using instruments bought in Vienna (16).

Psalidas was a follower, though not always an enthusiastic one, of Korais' ideas, but most of the other scholars mentioned here were at that time under the strong influence of the "wise old man" of Paris and loyally applied his teachings in their own schools. Since Korais represented then the "progressive" side in Greek culture, the fact that it was his disciples who dominated some of the most important centres of Greek education gains an additional significance in so far as future developments in that field are concerned. It should be noted in passing that he was also recognised and often praised by foreigners interested in the Greek cause: for example, he was known to Jeremy Bentham (whom he himself admired), was considered by Stanhope to be "the only Greek that speaks in the right tone" (17), and was asked by Dutrône for advice (18). The way in which his direct or indirect influence affected developments in Greek education during the years of the

War and immediately after it will be discussed in the following chapters of this study.

There is another characteristic shared by most of the teachers mentioned above, and that is that, except for their leader, Korais, they were clergymen of higher or lower status. This, however, does not mean, as mentioned, that they followed the official line imposed by the Head of the Greek Church in Constantinople on these issues. On the contrary, their "progressive" ideas and teachings provoked in many instances extremely strong reactions from the ecclesiastical authorities. Among the best known examples of those who were faced eventually with the hostility of the Church in varying degrees of violence were Vamvas and Kairis. The views of the Church, however, on cultural and educational affairs were not only expressed in this negative way. Its attitude on this matter, which must be combined with its stand on the spread among the Greeks of the influence of the French Revolution and on the War of Independence itself, was also adopted by another teacher, Athanasios Parios, Vamvas' predecessor at the School of Chios (19). His desire to restrict teaching to the texts of the Church Fathers made him attack not only the study of classical authors but also any contact with the culture of "infidel" Europe. He proceeded to the strongest condemnation of the Greeks who were pursuing their studies in universities abroad where they were becoming immoral and atheistic (20).

It is against this background of theory and definition of aims that the more practical aspects of educational organisation in Greece must be seen. In this respect it is significant that it was yet another of Korais' disciples, Constantinos Koumas, who published only the year before the outbreak of the War his four-volume Syntagma Filosofias which had a treatise on Pedagogy as its Appendix. It includes, significantly, chapters on Physical Education, on Theoretical Teaching, on Practical Teaching, on Punishments and Rewards, on Civics and the Education of Girls; another section deals with the Art of Teaching and covers all practical aspects related to the effective running of a school and the transmission of knowledge. This work, a translation rather than an adaptation of Niemeyer's Grundsatze der Erziehung, constitutes probably the most comprehensive and practical manual available to Greek teachers at a time when state attitudes on education were being formulated during the years of the War (21).

Koumas' book was published in Vienna, and it was in Moscow (another centre of Greek culture) that Georgios Lassanis and Georgios Gennadios a year later, in 1821, published the sixth volume of their "Elementary Encyclopedia of Children's Lessons", being at the same time both a manual for the teachers and a school-book for the pupils, "compiled from the best children's books of Germany" (22). Of the compilers, Lassanis, apart from teaching in Odessa,

had also contributed to the Logios Ermis (see below) and written some patriotic plays, but it was Gennadios who returned to Greece in 1824 to arouse enthusiasm for the War among the population by his impassioned speeches, and to serve as teacher first in Athens and then in Aigina (23). Those of his undertakings which were related to official educational activity during the period under review are referred to in the next chapters; it remains to be said here that this sixth volume of the "Encyclopedia" comprises an introduction setting out the benefits to be expected from education, and at the same time strongly attacking those "who want either to extinguish altogether education or to monopolise it and endeavour, with all their forces, to present it as harmful to society or at least to the lower classes" (24).

The "Encyclopedia", as well as Koumas' Syntagma, represents a considerable German influence on Greek educators. This is of course a result of the growing admiration of the German educational system which characterises European education during the beginning of the nineteenth century. In Greece, however, it was balanced by the very strong influence of the French Enlightenment exercised through Korais and his circle. An example of this alternative force relevant to the present context is the fact that both the "Encyclopedia" and the Syntagma praise the method of mutual instruction which, though flourishing in France, was received far less

favourably in Germany; Koumas goes as far as to consider it to be "a gift from God" (25). On the other hand, it should be mentioned that at that time the method had already been used in some Greek schools, articles had been written about it, and a manual to be used in its application had been published in Greek (26). The publicity given to it and its promotion were to a large extent the work of Georgios Cleovoulos and Athanasios Politis.

Both of these men were trained in the method in Paris before the outbreak of the War, and Politis, who also held a higher degree in chemistry, returned to the Ionian Islands in 1819. He later worked in Lord Guilford's Ionian Academy but he collaborated for many years with the English missionaries in propagating the method (27). Cleovoulos, on the other hand, who, in addition to his training in Paris had made an educational tour in Germany and Switzerland where he probably met Pestalozzi, went to Jassy to apply it in a school there; details about his training in Paris are given in Chapter IV below, while more is said about the method in Chapter III. It should nevertheless be noted here that advocacy of the method as important and efficient had started among the Greeks even earlier. In this movement a dominating role had been played by the periodical Logios Ermis issued in Vienna, for a time under the editorship of Anthimos Gazis, and which promoted Korais' ideas. As early as 1816 it had

published a lengthy description of the method, and in 1819 it printed a long letter by Cleovoulos which he had written while in Paris in December 1818, In it, after a short account of its principles, he proceeds to a comparison of the advantages of the new method with the weaknesses of the old one. Interestingly he stresses that in the schools of mutual instruction:

> "the child, by teaching and at the same time being taught, learns to govern and to be governed, to order and to be ordered according to the conditions of his situation; (this is) a most necessary lesson for everyone, since everyone is more or less (both) a subject and a ruler" (28).

The letter concludes with a report on the development of the method in various countries, including a mention of the famous speech by Joseph Hume in the House of Commons made in 1812 in which he had contrasted the incidence of delinquency in England and Scotland, relating it to the level of literacy in the two countries (29).

This, then, was the situation regarding the formulation of educational theory and the introduction of new practices in Greece just before the beginning of the War. There are, however, two points which must be investigated before an attempt is made to establish their relationship with policies adopted during the War itself. The first is to consider the extent to which these issues had been adopted by the political leadership of the rebel nation, and the second to determine their

impact on the population in general. In both cases evidence appears to be scarce, and specialised studies are lacking; consequently, any conclusions have to be based on circumstantial evidence.

Regarding the politicians, for instance, there are some indications that the issue of education was considered to be a high national priority: the Elliniki Nomarchia, published anonymously in 1806 a text "revealing a high degree of national consciousness and social culture", places education among the main weapons by which the Greek people will be able to shake off their oppressors (30). Similarly, Rigas Velestinlis, the very active propagator of the ideal of freedom among the Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire during the last decade of the eighteenth century, was particularly concerned with education (31). This is explicit not only in his other publications but also in the provisions of a constitutional charter that he compiled. More about this, however, will be said in the next chapter.

A word should also be said in this context about the leading politicians who headed the first free Greek regional governments to be established immediately after the outbreak of the War: Alexandros Mavrokordatos, Theodoros Negris and Dimitrios Ypsilantis. All three belonged to Phanariot families, and whatever their motives may have been, there should be little doubt about their having been educated, and even well educated, in

European culture (32). At least for the first two there are references to their having brought with them to Greece some of their own books; this would suggest at least that they considered them to be valuable and useful (33). Further, the view adopted by the wealthy leading families of the island of Ydra, who played an important role during the War, is illustrated in a letter written im 1826 by Manolis Tombazis, "Admiral" of the Ydra fleet, in which he describes his wishes concerning the education of his son. He would like him to become a seaman and therefore to pursue a course of study in navigation. In addition to this he would have him:

> "learn French and English (...) without, however, neglecting the ancient Greek language, which must be the basis of his education; to study history and geography and above all, he must never forget that he belongs wholly to his fatherland" (34)..

The attitude, however, of the Phanariots and of the wealthy to the general spread of education does not seem to be known; some indications on this matter will also be discussed in the following pages.

Still the question remains open as to how much of all this theorizing about education, the benefits to be expected from new methods, and the importance attributed to it by political agencies had really reached other sections of the population, and particularly the merchants and the peasants. The number of schools founded in the merchant Greek communities in Asia Minor and in European and Russian

towns such as Vienna, Odessa, Moscow, Smyrna or Bucharest would indicate that they appreciated the value of education, but this was most probably for its importance to their own success rather than for its contribution to national regeneration. As for the peasants, there is even less proof of their attitude. Some interesting indications, however, suggest that the message was getting through: thus the fact that a thief stole some books (among which a Dialogue by Korais) from a private house in Nafplion in 1829 (35), or that a foreign traveller in 1839 met a Greek soldier at a look-out station reading the life of Alexander the Great (36), would seem to give the impression that progress was perhaps being made in the direction of literacy. As to the relationship between education and freedom, a concept forwarded by the scholars mentioned above and constantly repeated in the newspapers published in Greece during the War, there seems to be no way of assessing the extent to which it reached the "masses". There appears, for instance, to be no study on the circulation of books or on the composition of their readership (37); indeed, travellers recorded the lack of bookshops in the towns they visited (38). Neither is there any information about the distribution of newspapers. Despite the fact that in 1824 the central authorities decided to buy 100 copies of each issue of two newspapers for distribution to the various provinces, it appears that

they circulated mostly in the Ionian Islands and abroad (39).

Nevertheless, foreign observers as well as Greek commentators seem to agree on a much repeated "love of learning" or "thirst for knowledge" displayed by Greeks of all ages and classes at the time of the War (40); this opinion was often based on the realisation of the ease with which Bibles and religious tracts were being distributed. Though accounts of this eagerness for books may have been exaggerated and certainly suggest an astonishing degree of interest, no attempt to interpret it otherwise than as at least a genuine and growing desire for the printed word, is convincing enough (41). The truth may lie, as usual, somewhere between the two extremes: through "neighbourhood gossip", imitation of the educated classes, and tradition, literacy was increasingly being associated with personal independence and success, and a rise in social status.. Despite statements on the "ignorance of the Greeks", which are, anyhow, relatively few (42), this point is strengthened by observations made by such careful historians as George Finlay, who noted that "no people regards education with more favour" (43) than the Greeks, and calculated that "it is probable that (in Greece) a larger proportion could read and write than among any other Christian race in Europe" (44), combined with the earlier realisation by Leake that "there is not a Greek community in a moderate state of opulence (...) that does not support a school for

teaching their children ancient Greek, and in many instances the other principal branches of polite education" (45).

Thus it would seem proper to conclude that there was in Greece at the time of the outbreak of the War of Independence a general demand for education; there are few signs of any widespread opposition to its spread. Possibly for different reasons the thinkers, the teachers, the politicians, the merchants and the peasants all regarded education as of primary importance, whatever the other social groups may have thought of it. Their different expectations from education would determine the structure of the organisation and the content of the curricula each would wish to find in the state educational system when established, but that it should become a major issue of policy within the new state would appear to have been a desire common to all. An investigation of the extent to which that desire was met, together with the consideration of possible foreign influences in this matter, will be made in the following pages, beginning with an examination of the way in which the issue was dealt with in the most characteristic texts of the new policies, the Constitutions promulgated by the National Assemblies.

CHAPTER III

T H E F R A M E W O R K

a. EDUCATION AND THE GREEK CONSTITUTIONS

Three Constitutions were issued in Greece during the period under review: The Provisional Constitution of Greece (Prosorinon Politevma tis Elladas) in 1822, the Law of Epidaurus (Nomos tis Epidavrou) in 1823, and the Political Constitution of Greece (Politikon Syntagma tis Elladas) in 1827. The first had been adopted on 1 January 1822 by the first National Assembly; the second, voted by the National Assembly at Astros in April 1823, was only an amended form of the first. The third, voted in May 1827 by the National Assembly at Troizen, was formulated in the light of the previously agreed invitation of Count Ioannis Capodistrias to become President of Greece. He would be expected to rule according to its provisions (1).

Historians and observers who lived through the Greek War of Independence seem to attribute little importance to the voting and the character of these Constitutions. G.G. Gervinus, for instance, goes as far as to explain his silence on the matter by saying that he deals in his history only with "the most important issues" (2). On the whole, their attitude is expressed by E. Blaquiere's statement that since these texts would "necessarily undergo (...) greater changes" it was "needless" to deal with them (3). But it is,

perhaps, G. Finlay who realised the true significance of the Constitutions when he said, speaking of the 1822 text, that it "must be looked upon rather as a statement of political principles of the new Greek state (...) than as a practical organic law" (4). And it is from this point of view that constitutional provisions on education will be examined in this chapter, since the preseht study attempts - as has already been stated - to define the general principles of the educational policy of the Greek state rather than to describe its practice.

i. Prototypes

Of the three Constitutions, only the last two have clauses on education. It is rather surprising that no mention of the subject is made in the 1822 text, since most of the constitutions which may have served as guides to the Greek legislators deal with the matter in one way or another. Despite the fact that it has been concluded that the 1822 text was not a direct copy of any particular previous Greek or foreign charter, and that it must be considered as an original work (5), it seems unlikely that the drafting committee of the Greek Assembly was unfamiliar with at least some of the existing Constitutions. The following is a list of those constitutional texts most likely to have been more or less known to the members of the Greek drafting committee in 1822:

(a) Constitutions of the U.S.A., and of individual States (1787 and after).
(b) French Constitution of 3 September 1791.
(c) French Constitutional Act of 24 June 1793.
(d) Constitution of the French Republic of 22 August 1795 (5 Fructidor, An III).
(e) Rigas Velestinlis' Constitutional Charter (1797).
(f) Constitution of the French Republic of 13 December 1799 (22 Frimaire, An VIII).
(g) Political Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy of 19 March 1812 (re-proclaimed in March 1820 and adopted as the Constitution of Naples and Sicily in July 1820).
(h) French Constitutional Charter of 4 June 1814.
(i) Constitutional Charter of the Ionian Islands 2 May 1817.
(j) Political Constitution of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples) of 12 December 1820.

Minutes or other documents relating to the drafting of the Greek 1822 Constitution and its revision in 1823, assuming they had ever existed, do not seem to have survived. Consequently, any consideration of influence has to be based on circumstantial evidence or vague references by historians, such as the one made by F. Pouqueville, who says that during the 1823 revision the deputies had formulated their text "prenant pour leur modèles les législations connues, et y cherchant ce qui était applicable à leur situation" (6). More significant perhaps, in view of his preeminent role in the drafting of the 1822 Constitution, is a letter written by Alexandros Mavrokordatos, dated 10 May 1824; it is addressed to Georgios Koundouriotis and discussed the Greek mission

which was to seek in Europe a monarch for the Greek throne. Mavrokordatos says that the emissaries should take with them the Greek Constitution (obviously of 1823), and remarks:

> "It might perhaps be necessary to compare that constitutional charter with the one which has been granted lately by the Emperor of Brazil; it seems to me to be the most complete of those already in existence. So we could cull from that one as well whatever will be judged useful"
> (7). (Own italics).

If this statement can be taken at its face value, and if we can rely on a careful wording by its author, which is probably the case, then we can assume that he, at least, was familiar with most of the Constitutions in the above list. Be this as it may, it would seem probable that some members of the 1821-2 drafting committee knew the Constitution composed by Rigas Velestinlis (who himself followed the French texts of 1793 and 1795), especially since some of them had had direct contacts with him and the Filiki Etairia, which regarded him as its spiritual ancestor (8).

There is, further, little doubt that the leaders of the Greek War of Independence had been strongly influenced by political movements and developments in France (9). To a lesser, but still considerable extent, the same would apply to influences from North America, Germany or Italy (10). It would then seem probable that the members of the drafting committee had some knowledge of foreign constitutions

of their basic principles if not of the texts themselves. This is especially so since Greeks who had studied abroad were returning to Greece and taking an active part in its politics. While abroad,, as G.L. Maurer remarked, "instead of learning something positive (they) were interested in theories about human rights, resistance to the established governments, constitutions and other similar matters" (11).

Regarding the Italian Constitutions, in particular, it should be added that an Italian, Vicenso Gallina,, allegedly an expert on constitutional law, had helped the Greek Assembly in the drafting of the Constitution (12). Contemporary writers seem to attribute considerable importance to his help: "Without Gallina most of the legislators were not able to legislate,. since they lacked the necessary knowledge of politics" (13). In view of what has just been said, this statement regarding the Greek legislators seems unjustifed, and specialists today are more sceptical about Gallina's contribution (14). But the fact that he was in close relationship with Mavrokordatos and the only foreigner to be awarded the commemorative medal at the end of the first National Assembly should indicate that his contribution had been of some importance (15). After the formation of the first central government, Gallina served as secretary general to Theodoros Negris, Minister of Foreign Affairs (16). One may easily assume that this was an extension of previous collaboration, and this would be significant in

the present context, since Negris had formulated a Constitution (with provisions on education, as will be seen) for his regional government in 1821; he was also one of the main members of the drafting committee of the 1822 Constitution.

Finally, in view of the general interest in and relationship with the Ionian Islands, there should be little doubt that their Constitutional Charter was known to the members of the committee; a Greek translation of the Charter had been published in 1818 (17).

These then are, in very general terms, the possible prototypes of the Greek Constitution of 1822. The main points of their provisions on education are marked on the table on the next page (18).

TABLE: Constitutions and Education (1787 - 1823)

Constitutions / Provisions	No Provision	Education responsibility of the State	For both sexes	Mention of post-elementary education	Provision for private education	Practical subjects (agriculture etc.)	Provision for civics	Mention of Lancasterian method
U.S.A.	Responsibility of individual states							
French 1791		+						
French 1793		+						
French 1795				+	+			
Rigas 1798		+	+					
French 1799	+							
Spanish 1812		+	+	+			+	
French 1814	+							
Ionian Islands 1817		+		+				
Two Sicilies 1821		+		+		+	+	
Western Greece 1821	+							
Eastern Greece 1821		+				(+)		
Peloponnese 1821	+							
Greece 1822	+							
Greece 1823		+						+

Liberal constitutions of the late 18th and the early 19th centuries have considerable affinities mainly in the area of their "non-political" principles, and it should be remembered that there had been close links between the fundamental texts of the two most significant prototypes of liberalism at the time: North America and France (19). In matters of education one finds in these Constitutions variations, from the most far-reaching provisions for achieving general compulsory literacy to the mere recognition of the existence of schools. They are due mostly to the different forms of government established by the respective Constitutions, but on the whole they all reflect pedagogical and educational ideas put forward by philosophers such as Locke and Rousseau, and pedagogues such as Pestalozzi. It should also be noted that in many cases - especially in France - educational policies were better expressed by laws and decrees than by the constitutional provisions on which they were based (20).

Differences which may be noted in the provisions for education of each of these constitutions are greater than can be accounted for by their drawing upon common sources of inspiration, or by gradations of liberalism. Such is the case of Rigas' Constitution which follows very closely the French text of 1793 (21), but differs considerably in its article on education:

FRENCH 1793

Art.22 of the Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen

"L'instruction est le besoin de tous. La société doit favoriser de tout son pouvoir les progrès de la raison publique, et mettre l'instruction à la portée de tous les citoyens." (22)

RIGAS 1797

Art.22 of The Rights of Man

"The Country must found schools for boys and girls in all villages. The ancient historical writers must be interpreted, and in the big cities Italian and French must be taught; (the teaching of ancient) Greek is indispensable." (23)

ii. The Greek exception

This is not the place to discuss the (possibly political) reasons which led to these differences; they have been mentioned merely to stress the fact that education had been one of the major concerns of constitutional legislators of the time. This would also accentuate the fact that the Greek 1822 text made no mention of education.

What had been said up to now would seem to exclude the possibility that this omission was not deliberate. The participation of Negris in the drafting committee, also makes this unlikely, since his regional constitution had included a similar provision, as will be seen. We could probably dismiss the idea that this omission can be seen as a further example of the Assembly's desire to

avoid any identification with the revolutionary movements of the time, which might be encouraged by a too close similarity of the Greek Constitution to other contemporary constitutional texts (24). The text voted in 1822 was a fairly complete Constitution: it was liberal, and had resemblences to similar contemporary texts. There is no evidence that its framers were not aware of this, or that it was meant to be merely a Declaration of Independence.

Omission resulting from an obscurantist policy would also seem unlikely, not only because of the general attitude towards education (already referred to in this study), but also because we know the attitude to this issue of some of those who might place their priorities in a different order, and exclude education from a constitutional charter. Among the most eminent of them was General Theodoros Kolokotronis. His views on education are characteristically exemplified by an incident narrated by his biographer: Kolokotronis went to visit a school:

> "He stayed to follow the lesson. Suddenly he shouted to the teacher:
> "What is it you are teaching the children now? This is the enlightenment you should give them. . ."
> And with a laughing face he jumped up and tore into pieces a copy of (presumably Christian) Wolff in folio, a big book, to show how to make cartridges out of it." (25)

Yet, according to N. Spiliadis, who was present at the meetings of the Assembly, it was Kolokotronis and his group of deputies who asked for an article on education to

be included in the 1823 Constitution (26).

All this, then, would exclude omission by chance, by obscurantist policy, and for reasons of image building. A more probable explanation of the silence of the first Greek Constitution on the issue of education might be the following: the scheme of government instituted by the 1822 Constitution was based on the existehce and functioning of regional governments which had been founded earlier, immediately after the outbreak of the War. The most important of these were those of Eastern Greece under Theodoros Negris, of Western Greece under Alexandros Mavrokordatos, and of the Peloponnese under Dimitrios Ypsilantis; they all had more or less complete constitutional charters to guide their governments (27).

The governing body of Eastern Greece, the Areios Pagos, according to its constitutional law (drafted by Negris and voted on 15 November 1821), would be responsible for:

> "the establishment of schools, orphanages, and hospitals in the towns; it will have the right of inspection of these institutions. It will also be responsible for everything which is related to the moral improvement of the nation, and the betterment of agriculture and other useful crafts." (28)

The constitutional laws of the other two major regional governments contain no provision for education, but it should be mentioned in passing that these texts are of a much more elementary form, compared with the law

of Eastern Greece. Nevertheless, the Senate, the governing body of the Peloponnese, issued in March and April 1822 (significantly soon after the voting of the Constitution by the National Assembly) two proclamations on the matter of education. These are their main provisions:

Proclamation of 16 March 1822:

> "It is the duty of every enlightened government to take care of the education of the citizens (. . .). The Peloponnesian Senate, despite the many, varied and urgent needs of the Fatherland, has taken patriotic care of the education of the young, intending to establish a school in this town (Tripolitsa) in accordance with the present circumstances (. . .) . (The Senate) invites teachers to teach according to the Lancasterian method the basic lessons, (Ancient) Greek, Mathematics, as well as Italian and French; it invites young lovers of learning in the Peloponnese to come to be instructed free of charge (. . .) .. Each pupil will have no other expenses than the cost of his books and his living expenses (. . .) " (29).

The same basic principles were repeated in the Proclamation of 27 April 1822, with the additional information that the school would be for "both boys and girls" (30).

The importance of these texts, and the influences which may have led to their formulation will be discussed later, but they seem to indicate clearly that, in Greece, education between 1821 and 1823 was considered to be the responsibility of the regional governments. Further evidence of this is that the inclusion of the provision for education

in the Constitution of 1823 coincides with the abolition of the regional governments, following a special law voted by the National Assembly just before the promulgation of the Constitution (31).

There appears to be no evidence concerning the ideas which led to this local responsibility for education; it is probably due to a number or reasons. One may be that during the last pre-War decades the establishment and running of schools had been undertaken by the local bodies as part of activities permitted by the Turkish authorities (32). Another factor may be related to the view according to which "il semble que les constituants grecs (of the first Assembly) se soient inspirés de l'exemple des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique de Nord" (33). This is challenged by A. Svolos who finds no parallel at all between the Greek (1822) and the American Constitutions (34), and his view is easily proved by a comparison of the texts. But it is, nevertheless, interesting to note that in the U.S.A., from the first days of independence, education had been considered to be the concern of each individual State, and not of the federal government: it had been taken to fall within the provision of the tenth Amendment (35).

The conclusion to be drawn from these considerations would be that the decentralised form of government adopted by the first National Assembly in Greece led to the omission of education from the provisions of the 1822 Constitution. When, sixteen months later, it was decided to introduce a

more centralised system, the second National Assembly proceeded to the inclusion of education among the clauses of the new Constitution as part of the responsibilities of the central government.

iii. Centralisation

There are, nevertheless, indications that the decision to attribute responsibility for education to the central government rather than to the local authorities was not a sudden one. The National Assembly which was functioning as Legislative Assembly between 1822 and 1823,, had - on more than one occasion - dealt with problems regarding particular schools, which would normally be among the responsibilities of the local governments (36). It could well be that this was due to the inability - financial or otherwise - of these local governments to take action in matters of education. A similar process was to develop again in Greece some years later: the 1834 Law on Primary Education laid down that the establishment of such schools would be the responsibility of the local authorities, communes and municipalities. Yet a process of central government intervention, economic or administrative, soon started as the local bodies proved unable – or unwilling - to establish and maintain schools. This gradually culminated in the undertaking, in 1920, by the central government to cover all expenses, a step by which it gained control of primary education (37).

Similarly, before the voting of the second Constitution the Legislative Assembly deliberated on problems regarding schools which would normally fall under local jurisdiction. This, again, appears to have been the process which, based on a more centralised concept of educational organisation, eventually led to the adoption of the European trend of including education among the constitutional provisions. That other important factors had contributed to this change seems unlikely. Direct contacts with Europe and North America had not yet developed to any great extent, and at the time philhellènism in Greece concentrated on military rather than cultural affairs. The few contemporary comments we know of regarding the first Constitution must have been either ineffective or insignificant - on this particular point at least - in relation to the formulation of the second one.

Korais had written detailed comments on the Provisional Constitution which were not published until 1933 (38); the manuscript bore no date, but there is evidence that it was written around the time when the Assembly was voting the second Constitution. It contains several views on education, but most of these Korais had already expressed in other writings and they must have been known to those of his disciples who were attending the National Assemblies, before this period, and had already influenced the 1822 Constitution (39). Similar remarks should be made regarding Korais'

advice to the legislators, included in a letter he addressed to them on 27 August 1823 (40). It was too late to have any effect on the text of the second Constitution. In this letter Korais repeats his views on the importance of education and the value of the Lancasterian method.

It should be further noted that in his introduction to Aristotle's "Ethics" Korais includes some remarks regarding the Provisional Constitution of 1822 (41). These were acknowledged by Mavrokordatos on 24 March 1823, that is before the voting of the second Constitution (42). But here Korais makes no specific mention of a national concern for education, as being a concept missing in the charter. Although, of course, as elsewhere he stresses the importance of the matter and repeats his familiar advice in favour of Lancasterian schools, translations, and the invitation of Greek scholars from abroad. Thus it seems that Korais' comments cannot be taken to have any direct relationship to the addition of the articles on education to the 1823 Constitution.

Two more sets of comments (less elaborate than that of Korais) were made by the Metropolitan Ignatios of Oungro-Wallachia, a leading ecclesiastic and ally of Mavrokordatos, and by the eminent scholar, P. Kodrikas, but they contain no remarks on education (43). Moreover, Jeremy Bentham was asked by the Greek Deputies in London to give his views on the 1822 Constitution. The facts surrounding his reply have not yet been fully clarified,

but anyway it came too late to have any effect on the formulation of the 1823 Constitution; the more general influence which he possibly had on the Greek legislators will be discussed later in this chapter (44). Finally, and as a matter of interest rather than for its possible influence on the formulation of the second Constitution, it would be worth noting that a "Draft for the Improvement of the Constitution", dated Ydra, 2 March 1823, and signed with the initials D.S.K. and E.M.S., (not identified by the editor) includes the "drafting of the general plan of public education" among the duties of the Parliament (45). This, significantly, coincides with a provision of the Spanish 1812 Constitution, retained in all its subsequent Spanish and Italian forms. But there is no evidence that the Ydra Draft had ever been published at the time, or that it had been circulated in any way.

Of the 1822 drafting committee only two members participated the following year in the Revision Committee of the Second Assembly; but one of them was Negris (46). Further, the revised text had, before being presented to the Assembly, been approved by a committee of three, one of whom was Mavrokordatos (47). The active participation of Negris and Mavrokordatos in the formulation of both texts would indicate that there had been no fundamental change in the background of policies between the two Constitutions. The 1823 text, apart from education, includes among its new, "non-political" clauses the freedom of the

press and the abolition of slavery, two further aspects of the philanthropic and liberalising world movement of the early 19th century.

Regarding education these are the articles which appear in the Constitution of 1823:

> Art. 37 Public education is under the protection of the legislature
>
> Art. 87 The education of the young must be systematically organised, and the method of mutual instruction must be introduced by the government throughout the country.

Article 37 is reminiscent of the equivalent provision in the Spanish Constitution, mentioned above in relation to the Ydra Draft; article 87 is the one formulated by Negris following a proposal by the group of deputies led by Kolokotronis (48). In both cases an examination of the phrasing of these provisions indicates that they do not fit in stylistically with the other clauses (49). This difference of style, which does not apply to other additions, might prove that the articles in question had been inserted at the last moment, as seems to be suggested by Spiliadis (50).

iv. <u>The Mutual Method on a national scale</u>

An interesting point in these provisions is the specific mention of the <u>mutual</u> (or <u>monitorial</u>, or <u>Lancasterian</u> - <u>allilodidaktiki</u>) method of instruction as the one which ought to be used on a national scale. This

appears to be the only case where the Lancasterian system has been referred to in a constitutional text. That the method had already been known in Greece has been mentioned in the previous chapter: it was considered to be "a gift from God", praised by eminent Greek scholars, introduced into some pre-War schools; and textbooks for its application had already been published in Modern Greek. Further, we have seen that the Peloponnesian Senate had proposed the introduction of it into its school just a year earlier. But one may see in this unique constitutional recognition of the mutual method something more than a belief in its instructional value. This could well be a further example of the way in which the mutual method of instruction had gained a reputation beyond the hopes - and perhaps the intentions - of its first promoters. Indeed, by the time of the voting of the second Greek Constitution the method had gained a world-wide reputation for its educational potential, but had also been the subject of a number of controversies regarding the socio-political implications of its application.

This method, "invented" almost simultaneously - but independently - by two Britons, Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell, had not, in essence, any political character. Its aspiration was probably only philanthropic, and its merit economic. But soon some eminent members of English society formed around the "inventors" two groups for the promotion of the method, and before long these became rivals.

Lancaster was supported by the Royal Lancasterian Association, which in 1814 became the British and Foreign School Society. Around Bell was founded the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church (51).

Lancaster's "System" was Christian but undenominational -- he himself being a Quaker - and the British and Foreign School Society has always had close links with the Society of Friends, Willian Allen being perhaps the most important bridge between them. It was also committed to work abroad, as its title indicates, and this gave to it a missionary aspect as well. This commitment, together with the undenominational character of the system, would explain the speed and the extent of its acceptance over the world, to non-Anglican Christian states, as well as to non-Christian countries where it was linked with missionary work. On the other hand, the National Society, because of its Anglican character, was confined mainly to England and Wales and did not appear to have particular interests in foreign countries.

The British and Foreign School Society seemed likely to have a wider social interest than the teaching of the three R's and Catechism, implicit if the background of its three originators, a schoolmaster, a doctor, and a manufacturer is taken into account (52). Nevertheless, it never admitted having aims other than raising through education "the lower classes of society from (...) misery

and degradation" (53). This, in their mind, meant diffusing scriptural teaching - without sectarian bias - to all, and hence led to a concept of education as the right of all men. But it was through the reactions of their opponents that the School Society was given a wider socio-political character. It was first the Established Church - Mrs. Trimmer firing the first shot (54) - which declared itself in danger because of the Society's activities, and then the "governing classes" who became apprehensive because they "viewed with suspicion any attempt to diffuse education amongst the ranks of the poor, who might be tempted to forget the position ordained for them in life" (55).

The involvement of the British and Foreign School Society in activities related to the promotion of education in Greece will be discussed in the next chapter. But in an attempt to explain the inclusion of the clause on the Lancasterian method in the Greek Constitution one should consider the political significance the method had gained between 1814 - when the Society was founded in England - and 1823 - when the Constitution was formulated in Greece. Indeed, if A. Rizos Rangabis has correctly recorded dates and recollections (which is rather doubtful since he was writing from memorey at an advanced age), the Lancasterian method was seen by the Greeks - just before the outbreak of the War of Independence - "as a daring novelty and as the seed of democratic principles thrown into instruction" (56).

In 1819 William Allen (though not accepting the view) realised that the Turks were afraid that the Lancasterian method might be "encouraging a military disposition" (57). And in 1821, in Crete, the Turks are reported to have tortured and killed a "Lancasterian" teacher along with leading clerics, because they were considered potential instigators of the Greek insurrection (58). The eminent teacher, Georgios Cleovoulos, himself had stressed a few years earlier the importance of the method in teaching the young "to govern and to be governed, to order and to obey" (59). All this must have influenced the Greek legislators if they were influenced by anything besides the cheapness of the method and its need for only a small number of teachers, or by repeated advice on the subject expressed by such respecfed men as Korais. It is very probable that this constitutional recognition of the importance of the Lancasterian method is again due to a number of factors; among them influence from abroad on the political aspect of the method should not be overlooked. And in those parts of the world from which Greece drew a strong cultural or political influence at the time - France, Russia, the United States - the Lancasterian method was more or less related to progressive, liberal movements - often despite the desire of its original promoters.

In France, for instance, the Société pour L'Instruction Elémentaire, founded in imitation of the School Society -

with which it maintained close contact - had declared that the reason for promoting the enseignement mutuel was their conviction:

> "que l'education est le premier moyen de former des hommes vertueux, amis de l'ordre, soumis aux lois, intelligents et laborieux" (60)

And under the title of the first issue of their Journal they printed a statement which made their non-political character even more clear:

> "La Société ne se dirige par aucune idée exclusive; elle n'aspire à aucune action administrative; elle recevra toutes les lumières qui lui seront offertes; elle offre tous les renseignements qui seront en son pouvoir; elle ne cherche qu'à faire le bien" (61).

The Société had an impressive early success. Its activities spread from Paris to the whole of France, the number of schools and pupils rose from month to month; it widened its scope to include schools for girls, for adults, for soldiers, for prisoners; it appointed inspectors and published books; it did all it could to raise the status of the teachers (62). But - as in England - it was the Société's opponents who attributed political significance to its activities. The Church saw the monitorial method as a danger in the constant struggle between it and the State over control of education. And politicians - especially of the Right - saw it as a menace to the established social order.

Maurice Gontard, in his comprehensive history of primary education in France, summarising the reaction to

the diffusion of the monitorial method in France, finds that in the eyes of its opponents it meant that:

> "L'enfant qui sort de ces écoles du Diable sera lui-même un démon, sans religion, sans morale, sans amour pour ses parents, sans respect pour autorité paternelle dans le présent, pour le mariage at la famille dans l'avenir. Il méprise à la fois la loi de l'Etat at ses devoirs de l'homme, ne connaîtra plus guère que ses droits" (63).

It could then be said that, allowing for considerable doubt on the extent of Greek knowledge of the matter, these reactions would encourage the legislators on Astros, who in 1823 were composing the Second Constitution, to accept the introduction of the method on a national scale. The fact that it was condemned by the Catholic Church would seem a good reason for it to be tolerated - if not supported - by an Orthodox National Assembly. And it has been observed that in Greece "little or no hostility was displayed, and certainly no organised attempt to oppose the Lancasterian schools is heard of as proceeding from the (Orthodox) Church" (64). In Russia, the Lancasterian School founded by Count Romanzoff in December 1818 "was opened with all the ceremonies of the Greek Church" (65). It should, nevertheless, be remembered that eventually in Greece as in Russia, the hostility of the Orthodox Church seems to have been focussed on the missionaries and their activities, and more particularly their doctines, rather than on the method of instruction they were using in their

schools. Up to the late 1870's when the Lancasterian method was formally abandoned in Greece - on pedagogical and not political or religious grounds - it had always been officially used by the state schools, without any marked reaction from the Church.

A further point which should be noted regarding the French influence in the adoption of the Lancasterian method in Greece is that, as will be seen, many of the leading members of the Société were at the time actively involved in the philhellenic movement in France (66); but in this one should rather discern an indirect motive.

In Russia - where, as mentioned, during the pre-War period important Greek commercial and pedagogical centres had developed - a "progressive" educational organisation had been started in 1804 by Alexander I under the influence of Condorcet's plan (67). Russia was also "one of the countries most closely associated with the British and Foreign School Society" (68). Lancasterian schools were being founded under the influence of the School Society - again with William Allen as a protagonist - by the Russian Bible Society, and later by a more specialised group, the Free Society for the Establishment of Schools of Mutual Instruction (69). But there, too, strong opposition to the method developed, probably as part of the general reaction to Alexander's educational policy; mainly, however, because of suspicions aroused by the fact that some of the Free Society's members were also participating in a

secret political society, the Union of Welfare. A direct relationship was seen between Lancasterian schools and the Union, which used the former to promote its ideas (70). A denunciation of the Union's activities stressed that:

> "The first step for attracting the lower class was: the emancipation of the serfs (...) and the promotion of schools of mutual instruction" (71).

And as Alexander himself was becoming more and more suspicious of this movement, the government suppressed a manual used in the Lancasterian schools because it contained "harmful" words and phrases, such as "freedom, will, slave, voice, secret, union, hero, honour, enemy, reason, criticism, legal, comrade, plot, citzen, participant, philanthropic, evil, to dream, to rise, hatred, hypocrisy etc." (72). So, again, the Russian experience of the mutual method might have indicated to the Greeks that it had more than purely instructional merits.

Similar impressions would be made on the Greeks by the knowledge of activities and feelings involved in the promotion of the method in other countries from which Greeks of the time were drawing their examples in cultural and educational matters. In the United States of America the system "was more generally developed than in England, and (...) expanded beyond the primitive Lancasterian outline" (73). In 1817 it was adopted as the official method for the public schools in Philadelphia, and Thomas Jefferson was an active advocate of it (74). In Italy,

Spain and Latin America societies and individuals were also promoting the system which was again affected by political developments in these countries - though apparently to a lesser extent than in France or Russia (75).

Finally, it should be recalled that even from Germany and Switzerland, which were sceptical - but not hostile - to the method, Greek scholars (such as Koumas) also supported the necessity for its introduction into Greece (76).

Not long after the voting of the second Constitution the Greek government proceeded to the implementation of its clauses on education; actions taken in this direction will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. What remains to be examined here are the articles on education contained in the third Greek Constitution voted in 1827.

v. The 1827 Constitution

The Political Constitution of Greece was for its time a text "remarkable for an enunciation of democratic ideas far in advance of those of any state of Europe" (77). It was more formal and more complete than the previous two, and although the Assembly declared that it was only a revised form of them, it was, in fact, a new text (78). Regarding education it declared:

> Art. 20 "The Greeks are entitled to establish institutions of any sort, educational, philanthropic, industrial and artistic, and to choose teachers for their education."

Art. 85 "The Parliament (...) is concerned with and fosters education (...)."

Art.126 "There will be six Secretaries of State:
1. (...) 2(...)
6. Secretary of State for Justice and Education."

While article 85 is a repetition of article 37 of the 1823 Constitution, the other two are new concepts of considerable importance. Article 20 establishes in a very broad sense the freedom of education which is considered to be one of the fundamental personal liberties. It should be noted that since, again, there are very limited records of the way in which this Constitution was compiled, it is not clear against whom it intended to protect the Greek citizen in this matter. In other countries this was a guarantee of non-intervention by the Church in education, but, as already mentioned, there is no indication that such a danger existed at the time in Greece. One would then assume that in the Greek case, if this provision was not - and there is no evidence that it was - a mere repetition of similar clauses in other Lists of Rights, then it represented a desire to guarantee precisely this: the freedom of education from state control. However, the issue should be seen against the background of a secular state and an independent Church established by the Constitution. It is interesting to note in this context that this Constitution made no provision for a Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The fact that the clause on the Lancasterian meth was not repeated in the 1827 Constitution seems understandable in the light of the more elaborate structure of this text. That it represents anything more than an acceptance that a constitution is not the means by which to regulate teaching methods would seem unlikely, especially since, as mentioned before, the method remained in use till the 1870's.

Less important perhaps, in terms of guiding principles, than the recognition of the freedom of education in the new Constitution is the provision for a Secretary of State for Justice and Education, but this must be seen as a further step towards centralisation. Examples in this matter existed in countries which influenced Greece considerably at the time: in Prussia a Department of Public Instruction had been set up in 1808 (79), and in Russia a Ministry of Public Instruction was founded in 1817 (80). These, of course, existed even before the time of the first Greek Constitution, but it should be noted that none of the Constitutions which could have served as prototypes to the Greek legislators made provision for a similar Minister. Nevertheless, two points are worth noting in this context: first that in France a Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction was established for the first time in 1824 (81); and second that Korais apparently held very strong views on the necessity for such a Ministry. In his then still unpublished Comments on the

Constitution he had proposed the establishment of a Minister of Public Education who would also be responsible for matters of Police, Justice and Religion (82). He makes a similar suggestion in his introduction to the second edition (1823) of his translation of Beccaria's "Dei deliti e delle pene" where he comments on the provisions of the second Greek Constitution (83). Specialists appear to be rather vague as to the origins of ideas expressed in the 1827 Constitution and of the texts that may have served as its prototypes, but Korais' increased influence in this matter seems to have been established (84).

At this point a remark should be made regarding the possible influence of Jeremy Bentham's ideas on the formulation of the third Greek Constitution (1827). Indirectly it must have been exercised through his involvement in the London Greek Committee and his close contacts with the Greek Deputies in London. Further, Korais was familiar with his work, and some of Bentham's views had been published in the early numbers of the Ellinika Chronika, the newspaper published in Mesolongi, initially under the influence of Leicester Stanhope. Very little, however, is known of the direct aspects of any such influence through the comments which he wrote for the 1822 Greek Constitution, or the Constitutional Code which he prepared for the Greek legislators (85). But in the minds of those who knew anything about Jeremy Bentham there should

have been little doubt as to the fact that for him "education made up half the world, of which legislation was the other half" (86). Regarding more specifically the establishment of a Ministry of Education, let it be mentioned in passing, that Bentham in his then unpublished Constitutional Code provided for such an institution (87).

Finally, it is interesting to note that the twenty-member committee which had been appointed to draft the Constitution included many teachers and scholars mentioned in other parts of this paper as being directly involved in educational matters, who had not served on the two previous similar committees (S. Trikoupis, C. Polyzoidis, N. Chrysogelos, G. Gennadios, N. Spiliadis etc.) Their participation may well have contributed to the increased importance given to education in that Constitution. Nevertheless, eight months after its adoption it was suspended by President Capodistrias on his arrival. As is argued in Chapter VI of this study, a completely new approach to educational matters was adopted then, and indeed the standards of liberalism and progressive aspirations in education reflected in the 1827 Constitution have never again been reached in Greece up to the present day.

b THE APPLICATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Despite the urgency and the importance of activites directly related to the conduct of the War of Independence, the central authorities in Greece during the period under review took steps to apply even the less "vital" provisions of the Constitution (1). Following the inclusion of clauses on education, measures were taken in this field as well; they must have been initiated under the influence of a number of factors. There was first of all that "passion for learning" already referred to, which, in the face of so much circumstantial evidence, one must accept as a fact, although there is little real proof of it. Then, the scholars, Korais leading, were constantly stressing the value that education had for the regeneration of the nation (2). And there was a strong belief that measures taken in education would make a good impression on the rest of the world, from which substantial help was expected (3). Some of these factors are discussed in other parts of this study; what will be examined here are the measures taken by the central authorities in the field of education, explicitly initiated in accordance with the relevant clauses in the Constitutions, or obviously deriving from them. These measures must also be seen as part of the general attempt both to organise the new state as fully as possible, and to solve the nation's fundamental problems from the very

beginning of its independent existence.

i. The 'Eforos'

On 5 July 1823, a few months after the voting of the Second Constitution, Theoklitos Farmakidis was appointed "Eforos for the education and the moral upbringing of children". The appointment, "in accordance with article 37 of the Constitution", was made by the Legislative Body to which had been entrusted concern with education (4). A more detailed account of the procedure which led to this appointment will serve to demonstrate the importance attributed to the matter: the idea of the appointment apparently originated with the Executive Body a month earlier,, and it was Mavrokordatos who had suggested Farmakidis for the post (5); that was on 4 June, and next day the Legislative Body received the relevant letter but postponed taking a decision. The matter was taken up again on the 27th of the month; Farmakidis was approached and asked if he would accept the post; he said he needed time to consider the matter, and on 4 July it was reported that he had accepted. The appointment being made on the following day, the Executive Body was informed accordingly, and asked to issue instructions to the newly appointed Eforos (6). These instructions, if ever issued, do not seem to have survived, and it is very likely that they had not been prepared at all, since Farmakidis in his Apologia does not mention anything about them; neither

does he record any action taken in respect of this post. In fact he says that "the times were not appropriate for education" (7). Moreover, as will be seen, his successor had to write these instructions himself. As a result, in September 1823, just over two months after his appointment, Farmakidis left Greece to take up a teaching post at Lord Guilford's Ionian Academy in Corfu (8). The Legislative Body did not receive his formal resignation until 21 June 1824 (9). By then, as will be seen, a special committee on Education had been appointed and had issued its report, and thought had been given to the appointment of a new Eforos (10).

Once more we have here an example of the way in which, though nothing came of it, a particular action of the authorities is characteristic of their intentions and aspirations. For while this first appointment led to nothing, the idea of it, its execution, and the person chosen have no little significance in indicating the importance attributed to education by the political leaders of the time.

The middle of 1823, when the appointment was made, was no more auspicious than previous periods of the War, in respect of internal and external difficulties and problems. And yet both the Legislative and the Executive Bodies undertook to deal with educational matters. The Legislative Body made its intentions clear in the letter

announcing the appointment to the Executive Body: it stressed "the need of the country for a good upbringing of the children, which is the basis for every nation" (11). There is every reason to believe that this whole issue was not a mere attempt to create an image, an action taken simply to be on record.

The choice of Theoklitos Farmakidis was certainly not hasty and unconsidered. A learned clergyman, 39 years of age, he had been co-editor of Logis Ermis, the "progressive" Greek literary periodical published in Vienna. At the outbreak of the War he was in Göttingen (where he had been studying since 1819), but he abandoned his studies and went to Greece to serve the cause, as did many of the other Greeks who were pursuing studies in European Universities. Since his return he had been publisher of the first newspaper to be printed in liberated Greece (Salpinx Elliniki), and had served on several committees on matters related to the organisation of the state; earlier he had also done some teaching at Jassy, and, while in Germany, he had been interested in methods of teaching. But what is more relevant in the present context is that he was still at that time a loyal disciple of Korais, and a devoted Anglophile. He had pursued his studies in Germany with the financial support of Lord Guilford, in whose Academy he was to teach. This post, however, he relinquished in order to go to Greece. He only returned to it when, persuaded that he could be of little

service to his country, he left, as mentioned before, in September 1823 (12). From that time he was repeatedly called by the Greek authorities to return, even before his formal resignation from the post of Eforos (13). The missionary John Hartley had been "very pleased" when he attended one of Farmakidis' lessons in Corfu (14), while Leicester Stanhope considered him to be "an able and virtuous patriot" and had hoped that he would come to Greece and direct a newspaper in Athens (15). Farmakidis did eventually return in September 1825, to be placed at the head of the official Greek General Gazette, (Geniki Efimeris tis Ellados) from which he resigned later on issues of principle related to the freedom of the press, a matter which, incidentally, had also been his reason for giving up his first journalistic activites some years earlier (16). On the whole his later life belongs more to the ecclesiastical field than to education and is irrelevant to the present study (17). Here it need only be stressed that his general attitude towards culture, and his belief in the combination of the ancient Greek tradition with modern European trends (18), together with his admiration for England, would have made him an active propagator of English educational ideas in Greece, and, what is perhaps more important at this point, this possibility must have been known by the authorities who appointed him.

Farmakidis offered his formal resignation from the

post of Eforos on 21 June 1824; when Grigorios Constantas refused to accompany boys who were to be sent to England to be educated (25 July) (19), the Legislative Body thought that the time had come for it to proceed with his appointment to the vacant post, as had been suggested two weeks earlier (10 July) (20). It could easily be assumed that Farmakidis' resignation had been asked for - so long after his actual retirement - specifically in order to regularise a new appointment. Be this as it may, the Legislative Body wrote immediately (25 July) to the Executive Body on the matter, and the nominee was officially informed of his appointment by the Ministry of the Interior about a month later (29 August) (21). Here again one must notice the fact that there was an obvious desire to follow correct procedure: official resignation of the predecessor, new nomination, approach to the nominee (he, too, asked for time to consider the matter), appointment, letter to the Executive, letter to the appointee. And again the person chosen was of very considerable standing.

Grigorios Constantas, also a learned clergyman, was much older than Farmakidis (he was 66 at the time of his appointment) but he, too, was a well-known protagonist of the Greek Enlightenment. Moreover, he was reputed to be a virtuous man, a person of some distinction, but above all he was devoted to teaching. Throughout his early life he had combined studying with teaching, much of which had

taken place abroad: in Bucharest (at the time an important centre of the Enlightenment) where he came in contact with Katartzis, Vienna, Padua, Venice and Trieste. His main teaching he did at his school at Milies in Thessaly, which, together with Chios and Kydonies, had become one of the most important and well-known educational centres of the period preceding the War. His writings, apart from his Geography, a milestone in the history of modern Greek culture (written in collaboration with Daniel Filippidis), include translations of philosophical works (such as Francesco Soave's "Istituzioni di logica metafisica ed etica") and historical studies; he taught also Ancient Greek, Italian, Mathematics and Philosophy (22).

At the outbreak of the War he was at his school in Milies, which he left to join his fighting countrymen. He, too, was employed immediately on several committees, and had been assigned to undertake a number of conciliatory missions between the rival factions. But, unlike Farmakidis, he did not give up hope when faced with the difficulties of his new post of Eforos. The Ministry at his appointment stressed that "it is essential that no means are neglected which could contrbute to the fulfilment of this useful work, since on the education of the young depends the future happiness of the Nation" (23). Some days after his appointment, on 8 September, the Legislative Body set up a three-member committee to prepare a plan on the duties

and obligations of the Eforos; it was the result of a letter to that Body by Constantas asking for instructions. To this committee he himself submitted a plan which was later (8 January 1825) discussed and approved by the Legislative Body (24). It was then forwarded to the Executive Body two days later with a letter stating that "it is very difficult to put into practice the whole of his plan in view of the present situation in Greece. But it is good in theory." (25). The plan, bearing the signature of the Minister of the Interior, was issued on 10 February 1825 (26). It provided, among other things, for personal visits by the Eforos to all existing schools, for the compilation of a register of these schools, the gathering of information about the teachers, their behaviour and abilities, the undertaking of measures necessary for the improvement of the schools, the investigation of their finances, provision for the enrichment of the school libraries, the establishment of correspondence with the schools which would enable him to be always well-informed as to their progress. It also empowered the Eforos to encourage measures which would lead to local care for ancient monuments and relics.

These clauses by themselves are sufficient to prove a desire to proceed to a comprehensive organisation of the system, and fit in well with signs of similar tendencies mentioned above. But there is also in this plan an

indication of a deeper concern about the issue, since it also provides for the "introduction of the most simple and easy method of teaching, which will effectively lead to the educaion of the young in other fields as well, but particularly in (Ancient) Greek, so that the young do not spend this precious period of their lives uselessly." Finally it required the Eforos to submit to the government a plan on these lines, which, after being reviewed and approved by the authorities would be implemented by all schools in the country "until a better one is found" (27). This attack on the established methods of teaching was characteristic of the "progressive" movement in Greek education at the time; its inclusion in this official text would indicate a liberal approach by authority to the whole matter.

Constantas in another text states the general lines of the governmental policy in education during that time. This is in a Report on the State of Education in Greece, which had been requested by Count Giuseppe Pecchio, the Italian emissary of the Greek Deputies in London. Constantas submitted it in his official capacity. It is dated Tripolitsa, 25 April 1825, and states that "the (Greek) Government, although overwhelmed with cares and pre-occupations, equally necessary to repulse the enemy, and establish order in the interior, has not omitted to direct its attention and paternal solicitude towards the instruction of youth, being aware that a good education

is the basis of all political and social virtues, and the light which guides every citizen to the knowledge and the performances of his duties" (28).

These, then, were the general principles and the specific instructions which Constantas had to follow. At the beginning he seems to have been quite active: he made a tour of inspection to the Cyclades and to Syra; he probably also visited schools in the Peloponnese. The Executive Body had asked the Ministry of the Interior to make the necessary arrangements for these visits (18 January 1825). The Ministry accordingly issued instructions to the Local Authorities: 2 February: "Be careful not to show the slightest negligence of indifference regarding this order, for such an attitude will be regarded as a serious offence" (29). Constantas secured the help of another eminent teacher, Georgios Cleovoulos, and pressed another important figure in Greek education, Georgios Gennadios, to accept a governmental teaching post in Argos (30). He also met Georgios Constantinou, a teacher trained in London, and may have placed him in a school (31). These activities cover the period between his appointment in mid-1824 and his settlement - for reasons of health - in Syra two years later. He was still at Syra in January 1827, but we seem to have no information of his movements between then and the time of the arrival of Capodistrias; he may well have stayed in Syra for the whole period (32).

It should, however, be remembered that in May 1827 the Secretariat of State for Justice and Education was established, and the first Secretary appointed (33); most of the duties of the Eforos must have been taken to fall within the responsibilities of this new department, though there seems to be no explicit mention of such a re-organisation, and Constantas himself in his unfinished Autobiography gives 1828 as the end of his term of office as Eforos (34). But, whatever the chronological limit of his activities in this post, it is obvious that the most important part of them coincides with the two most interesting years of the period under review, namely 1824 and 1825.

The limited knowledge we have of Constantas' actions and administrative writings during these years does not allow any investigation of foreign influences to which he may have been subjected in the planning and execution of his duties. All that can be said is that he was carrying into official educational policy the "progressive" and enlightened ideas which he had acquired during his previous career by his reading and by his studies abroad, and which he is known to have applied to his teaching before the beginning of the War.

ii. The Special Committees on Education

The appointment of an Eforos to direct educational matters in 1823 might be reminiscent of the French Grand

Maître de l'Université who also some years earlier had been placed as senior administrator in education in a country which had no Ministry of Education, and from which Greece derived strong influences in cultural matters (35). But the parallel would not stand a deeper investigation, since the Université and the appointment of the Grand Maître, as well as the aims which they were called to fulfil, had little in common with Greek conditions and the aspirations of the time. On the other hand, the North American 'Superintendant of Education' is an even less probable prototype, given the language barrier which separated the two countries and the late arrival of North American "cultural" philhellenes, and despite the interest shown in American affairs by some Greek scholars, such as Korais and Filippidis (36). Further, since other similar examples from likely sources of inspiration seem to be lacking and if the Eforos was not an original Greek idea - which it may well have been - then one would have to come back to the Grand Maître to find, even remotely, the prototype of the Greek Eforos. It should, however, be noted in passing that the term eforos had been used before in Greece for similar purposes (37).

There is, on the other hand, a much more likely and striking similarity in the way in which educational matters were investigated and planned in revolutionary France and in Greece during the War of Independence: both worked through specially appointed committees rather than

by vesting responsibility in a single person, a process which must surely express a democratic tendency (38). Thus, following the voting of the 1791 Constitution in France, with its provisions on education, a Committee of Public Instruction was appointed. In Greece, on application of the articles on education which had been included in the 1823 Constitution, a special committee on education was appointed in May 1824. And the practice continued in both countries as the years passed. In Greece other committees were appointed in 1826 and 1827; and in France, following the first 1791 committee, a second one was appointed in December of that same year, and another late in 1792. This last committee, much as the previous ones, was appointed "amid a welter of bloodshed and civil confusion" (39), and this remark might easily apply to all three Greek committees. This comparison could be taken further by examining the importance of the reports presented by these committees in both countries, and the immediate ineffectiveness of their proposals. Then, too, among the members of the French committees were some most eminent intellectual leaders, such as Talleyrand and Condorcet, and similarly in Greece, at least the 1824 committee contained some very distinguished figures. Be that as it may, a consideration even of the little that is known about the Greek committees will give a clearer picture of the way in which the clauses on education in the Greek constitutions were meant to be implemented, and

of the importance which was apparently attributed to the matter, as well as of the influences that had inspired them.

iii. The 1824 Committee

On 19 May 1824 the Legislative Body deliberated on education and decided to appoint a special committee to consider the whole matter. Its terms of reference seem to have been very wide. It had to "elaborate a plan" on "the foundation of schools for the education of the young" (40). Five deputies formed the committee: Anthimos Gazis as president, and Panoutsos Notaras, Michael Kavas, Spyridon Trikoupis and Kyrillos Liverios Liveropoulos as members. The appointment came at a moment when from several quarters pressure was being exercised on both Bodies to take action in the organisation of an educational system.

Farmakidis had been appointed but had already abandoned his post, and on May 3 a letter by Neofytos Vamvas was published in one of the "national" papers strongly criticising the government forits inactivity in the field of education (41). A group of scholars were planning the establishment of an Academy which would undertake educational functions (to be described in the following pages), and though the actual plan for it was not submitted to the Legislative Body until after the appointment of the committee on education, arrangements

for it were well on their way at that time (42). The movement must thus have been known to the deputies at the Legislative Body since some of them were among the initiators of the plan. It is worth noting that two of the committee members had also signed the plan for the Academy. Another incentive to action probably came from Corfu, where Lord Guilford's Ionian Academy was about to be formally opened, and although it was believed in Greece to be a Greek establishment, the fact that it was outside the territory controlled by the government, and organised by a foreigner, must have constituted a challenge for the Greek authorities (43). Similarly, another educational institution organised on a private basis, the Philomuse Society, was being revitalised in Athens, mainly owing to the efforts of Leicester Stanhope (44). And in this context it must not be forgotten that the arrangements for the first Loan had reached a critical point at that time and that it was absolutely necessary for the Greek government to show that it was functioning as fully as possible in all fields; this was being stressed to the Greek authorities both by the philhellenes and the Greek deputies in London.

However, the multitude of these pressures, even combined with the general demand for education which, as mentioned before, seemed to prevail in Greece at the time, would not seem to be enough to justify either the choice

of such eminent members for the committee, or the elaborate report it seems to have produced. If they were influenced by factors such as those mentioned above, the Greek authorities certainly proved by the issues discussed in this Chapter that their concern with the matter was really deep and sincere.

The composition of this committee is worth more extensive consideration. Some of its members have had to wait until quite recent years for a proper assessment and evaluation of their roles in Greek history. But there should be no doubt that at the time of their appointment they had already demonstrated their abilities, and made their aspirations clear; it seems obvious that they had not been chosen at random.

Anthimos Gazis, (aged 60) the President of the Committee, was a learned clergyman; initially much under the strong influence of Korais, he had directed the Greek literary periodical Logios Ermis in Vienna during its first period of publication. He was directly involved in the foundation of the Vienna branch of the Philomuse Society in 1814, and returned to Greece at the outbreak of the War. A close collaborator of Constantas regarding the school at Milies (their common birthplace), he had provoked the latter's wrath in connection with the management of money allocated to the school by the Vienna branch of the Philomuse Society. Gazis is reported to have helped Theodoros Negris in the composition of the

Constitutution of his regional government, which, as mentioned, included a clause on education. Earlier he had been an active member of the Filiki Etairia, and at the time of his appointment to the Committee he was also involved in the planning of the private Academy. He had translated the "Grammar of the Philosophical Sciences" by the Englishman Benjamin Martin, had compiled dictionaries of the Ancient Greek language and authors, and had promoted the publication of older and comtemporary Greek works; at one time he served as headmaster of a school on the island of Tenos; he died in 1828 (45).

The second member of the Committee, Panoutsos Notaras (aged 84), was a highly-respected member of a well-known Peloponnesian family. He served as Minister, member of the Executive Body, President of the Legislative Body and of the third National Assembly. He, too, had signed the plan for the Academy. He is reported as having died, at the age of 109, in 1849.

Spyridon Trikoupis (aged 36) was a dominant figure in Greek politics and literature. He wrote an important History of the War of Independence, and was known at the time to be an enthusiastic Anglophile; he had served as secretary to the British Consul at Patras and to Lord Guilford, with whose financial support he had studied Philosophy in Rome and Paris; he had returned to Greece at the outbreak of the War. He was the regular interpreter of Blaquiere in Greece. Married to a sister of Alexandros

Mavrokordatos, of whose circle he was an active member, he was also closely related to the poet Dionysios Solomos, whom he helped in 1822 to learn Greek; he died in 1873 (46).

Another contributor to the Logios Ermis, Kyrillos Liverios Liveropoulos (aged possibly 30-40), also sat on the Committee. Formerly a monk, he gave up the monastic life to undertake studies in Western Europe (Physics, Mathematics and Pharmacy in Vienna, Wurtenberg and Göttingen) as a scholar sponsored by the Vienna branch of the Philomuse Society. A good friend of Trikoupis, Farmakidis, and Polyzoidis, he was also closely related to Constantinos Asopios, a distinguished classicist, professor at the Ionian Academy, and had been proposed for a chair at that establishment. A follower of Dimitrios Ypsilantis at the beginning of the War, he was later attached to Alexandros Mavrokordatos. Together with Trikoupis he had defended Farmakidis in the Legislative Body on matters relating to the freedom of the press. During his studies in Germany he is reported to have resisted an order by Capodistrias (President of the Vienna branch of the Philomuse Society at the time) to move to Italy along with the other scholars of the Society, following the student demonstrations which had occurred in Göttingen; he believed that such a change would hinder the development of his studies (47).

Finally, Michael Kavas, who was a former member of the Filiki Etairia, had studied in Padua and was later deputy for Argos at the National Assemblies. He was a doctor and seems to have been interested in matters related to the foundation and running of schools at his birthplace; he died in 1840 (48).

These biographical notes, however brief or incomplete, give a relatively clear indication of the importance attributed to the Committee by the Legislative Body, and of the intellectual framework within which the deliberations of the latter must have been held. Further, while the inclusion of Panoutsos Notaras could not have been much more than a desire to give the Committee high status, the four other members were clearly moving within a "European" and "liberal" climate with strong indications of more or less close contacts with English culture and education (Gazis, Trikoupis, Liverios) (49). Apart from other signs of the cultural tendencies which dominated the Committee, special mention should be made of their relationship with Korais and the Logios Ermis (Gazis and Liverios) and Solomos (Trikoupis), that is with two very important representatives of the Greek "progressive" intellectual movement of the time. Finally, the members of the Committee represented an interesting cross-section of the political tendencies of the time (Filiki Etairia, the Peloponnese, Negris and Mavrokordatos), though it would be possible to say that the influence of Mavrokordatos

must have been the strongest (Trikoupis and Liverios).

Little is known of the way in which the Committee proceeded to the composition of its Report. There are, however, indications that an investigation was carried out and that the Report was accompanied by a financial survey, though it is not clear whether they referred to the plan in general or only to proposals for the immediate future (50).

Of the Report itself, submitted to the Legislative Body on 2 June 1824, only a summary seems to have survived; it was first published in <u>O Filos tou Nomou</u> (14 July 1824) :

> "Three types of school must be founded for the successful progress of enlightenment, and the consequent happiness of the nation.
>
> "The first will comprise the schools of preparatory and popular education, in which the pupil will be taught only to read, write and count.
>
> "The second will comprise the lyceums, which will be established in the capitals of each province, or at least at the most important ones. In them the pupil will be taught the language of our ancestors, study Latin and French, and attend basic lessons on the sciences and philosophy.
>
> "Third and last, one University at least, comprising the four main branches of scientific learning, that is Theology, Philosophy, Law and Medicine.
>
> "But because the time is not suitable for implementing such a plan to its full extent, we should restrict ourselves to the first type only, the mutual method, most necessary and most useful

for society, and both inexpensive for the state and free for the pupil.

"For this reason a model school must be established at Argos where able young men of good morals will be educated, who on completion of their studies will teach in the villages. And thus the model school will serve as a great source from which the benefits of the mutual method will flow."

Contemporary historians rarely referred to the Report. Among those who did so, however, Giuseppe Rovani gives more than a few lines to it; his account is briefer than that of the O Filos tou Nomou and, though very similar to it, it presents some differences: he specifies that it was proposed to found primary schools in every commune; instead of sciences and philosophy at the secondary level, he mentions what he calls 'filosofia civile'. Rovani speaks of one - not at least one - University with schools of Theology, Law, Medicine, Sciences, and Classical Literature (51).

The importance of the Report is obvious even in the summary by which it is known. It goes beyond the "philanthropic" concept of universal education which was then common in more advanced societies; it envisages a three-grade system with the apparent intention of offering equal chances to all, since the distribution of schools was established solely on a geographical basis. One would suspect that the remark that the time is not suitable for implementing such a plan to its full extent

refers to financial difficulties rather than other considerations. This assumption becomes more significant in the light of the way in which the question of education was approached some years later.

However, in "the fierce struggle between the old classical education (...) and the new scientific education" which was beginning to dominate the European scene at the time (52), the Report leaves little doubt as to the thesis of the Committee: a clear literary orientation is obvious in the suggestion of the varying depths to which the study of different subjects was intended to go in the secondary schools: Ancient Greek was to be taught <u>with all necessary grammatical and scholarly perfection</u> but the pupils would only <u>study</u> Latin and French, and merely <u>attend basic lessons</u> on the sciences and philosophy. The same orientation can also be seen in the choice of studies at University level. Let it be mentioned in passing that characteristically the four branches stated in the summary coincide with the faculties of Lord Guilford's Ionian Academy, which must have been of considerable interest to the Greek leaders of the time (53). Beyond these vey general remarks, however, other influences or intentions cannot be detected as long as the full Report is missing.

The Committee submitted its Report to the Legislative Body (2 June 1824), less than a month after its appointment, but discussion did not take place until the

10th of next month, when "after the deepest consideration, the proposals of the Committee were accepted in their full extent", and it was decided to give the necessary instructions to the Executive Body (54). The wording of the minutes of the Legislative Body, however, suggests that these instructions concerned only the school at Argos, and this impression is reinforced by subsequent action taken in the matter. It should also be noted that it was during the deliberations on the Report that the appointment of Constantas as Eforos was first suggested in the Legislative Body. This, however, does not seem to have been a direct result of the Report's particular proposals. Concentration on the school at Argos is also obvious in the letter (11 July 1824) by which the Legislative Body forwarded the Committee's Plan together with the financial survey to the Executive. It suggests "for the present the establishment of a school of the mutual method at Argos and later of more advanced lessons wherever it becomes possible" (55). On 28 July the Executive replied that it had "taken the necessary measures" in the matter (56).

These texts create some further doubts at to whether they refer to a simple school of the mutual method to be established at Argos or the Normal School proposed by the Committee. Correspondence on this subject between the Legislative and Executive Bodies continued until 22 December 1824, when the former issued a decree on the

matter. It provided for the establishment at Argos of a "Central School of the Greek State, in which several subjects will be introduced"; this action, it stated, was taken in accordance with articles 37/ and 87/ of the Constitution (57).

It is irrelevant to the way in which the subject is approached in the present study whether the school was ever founded, or, if founded, - which seems to have been the case - whether it ever developed into the Normal School it was intended to become. What should be noted again is that the mere consideration of its establishment is a further expression of a constant preoccupation of the Legislative Body with educational matters, a desire to apply the relative provisions of the Constitution, and to organise the system properly. It is in the same way that the appointments of two further committees on education (in 1826 and 1827) must be seen as having a representative rather than pragmatic significance.

iv. <u>The 1826 and 1827 Committees</u>

The Third National Assembly during both its main sessions (which began in April 1826 and in February 1827) showed its interest in education and expressed its feelings by actions which at the same time demonstrated concern and an emotional involvement in the matter.

On 8 April 1826 a new five-member Committee was

appointed to "deliberate on the organisation of schools". Its members had little in common with their 1824 counterparts, either in cultural background or in status (58). Apart, perhaps, from Agamemnon Avgerinos, a former member of the Filiki Etairia, who had studied in Pisa and possibly been under the influence of Korais, they were chosen from among the less distinguished deputies, with no apparent special interest in educational or cultural matters. One possible interpretation of this may be that the Assembly was looking for proposals more realistically related to the situation of the country than those put forward by the 1824 Committee, and for this reason it appointed persons of less sophisticated background, closer to the common people, their problems and their potential. On the other hand these appointments may have been an expression of the belief that education was the concern of every common citizen and not of high-ranking specialists. But it is most probable that, combined with these attitudes, was the expression of the Assembly's mistrust of "professional" experts in politics and other fields, which culminated in the appointment at the end of its second session of a committee consisting of a "boy, a sailor and a cuckold" (59) to act in place of the invited president.

A few days before suspending the meetings of its first session the Assembly made a symbolic gesture by accepting an application by the village where it had

established its seat that it should donate the building at which its meetings were held, to be used as a school, and by decreeing that the revenue from the produce of the public land of the area should be used by the government for the remuneration of teachers (60).

* * *

At the beginning of its second session the Third National Assembly (February 1827) appointed several committees to consider matters of an administrative and cultural nature (61). No committee was specifically assigned to study educational issues but some time later (4 March) it was decided that the Committee on Religious Affairs should also prepare a plan concerning education. On the same day a letter was addressed to the members of the Committee (who again were among the less distinguished deputies) asking them: "to deliberate on the drafting of a plan based on the way by which we could restore (...) the cultivation of morals and the bringing of enlightenment to the nation" (62).

Chronologically this was followed, as stated above, by the voting of the Third Constitution, and the appointment of the two successive Secretaries of State for Justice and Education, which will be discussed later. On 12 November 1827, while the second of these Secretaries was in office, the Legislative Assembly appointed a

"Permanent Committee on Education". It would collaborate with the Philanthropic Society in its concern with "the foundation, maintenance and improvement of the schools generally throughout the state" (63).

Seven deputies were appointed to the Permanent Committee and although they were not as "unimportant" as those of the 1826 Committee, their status did not equal that of their 1824 counterparts. With the latter they had one member in common (Kyrillos Liverios Liveropoulos), and there were also some other men of letters. Of the members, Nilolaos Spiliadis (aged 42 at the time) had been educated in Western Europe and had returned to Greece at the outbreak of the War and served as secretary to the National Assemblies; he later published his Memoirs. Another, Emanouel Vernardos, a former member of the Filiki Etairia, had lived in Jassy and had contributed to the Logios Ermis; in 1825 he had served as Secretary General (and for a time as acting Minister) at the Ministry of Justice, and had shown an interest in literary and educational matters. Anagnostis Didaskalou also was appointed to the Committee; a few days earlier the Legislative Body had discussed a plan of his for the organisation of the schools at Aigina (then the seat of the Legislative Body) (64).

On the day when Didaskalou's plan was discussed and unanimously approved, the Legislative Body made another gesture which, at least today, has for the historian a

symbolic significance, especially since, apparently, it did not materialise. Following an application by the teacher of the school of mutual instruction at Aigina for a grant which would allow him to extend the building of his school, the deputies decided to meet his demand by a collection among themselves (65).

On 20 December 1827 a major educational plan was referred to the Permanent Committee to be considered. It was submitted to the Legislative Body by the Government and was based on "the necessity of establishment in several places of the state schools of the mutual method, 'Hellenic' schools, and a Central School" (66). It was proposed:

> "(A) That a permanent Commission should be established consisting of some deputies, the Secretary of State for Education, and some members of the Philanthropic Society; it would deliberate on the foundation and organisation of these schools, be concerned with their maintenance and improvement, and be responsible for the increase of their resources and the good use of the money collected for this purpose.
>
> (B) That at the present a source of finance be found, appropriate to the present circumstances, by which the first needs of the schools to be founded will be met. The government considers that this source can be found:
>
> (a) If for this purpose half of the revenue of the local monasteries is assigned by law. To assess it a committee of men known for their integrity, patriotism, and love of the arts will be established.

> (b) If the treasury be obliged to grant for this purpose 1% from the sale of national resources, and the buyer 1% on the total price of the transaction."

Nothing more appears to be known about the Commission or the 1826 and 1827 Committees, and it seems very unlikely that any measures were taken, though from time to time several problems were referred to the Committees by the Legislative Assembly (67). But the fact that Committees had been appointed, and the repeated preoccupation of the Legislative Body with educational issues are in themselves indicative of the attitude of the Greek leaders on the matter; they appear in this to have been in accordance with the general belief among the population in the importance of eucation for the development of the country.

v. <u>The Secretary of State for Justice and Education</u>

Following the voting of the third Constitution which introduced provision for the post, the first Secretary of State for Justice and Education was appointed, together with the other Secretaries, on 30 May 1827 (68). Centralisation in education, which was implicit in the Second Constitution in 1823, had by no means prevented local authorities from catering for education in their areas, but the central government was also involved in several ways, as is mentioned elsewhere, in founding schools and laying down policies. Specialists today seem

to believe that central control in education was maintained between 1823 and 1827 through the Ministry of the Interior, as was the case in other countries, such as France, until they had a Ministry of Education (69). But it should not be forgotten that a very important role, especially in the field of policy-making, was played by the Legislative Body and the National Assemblies; these Bodies on several occasions would take the initiative on educational issues and even proceed to executive measures. On the other hand, it is clear that at some time, at least, the Ministry of Religion was also directly interested in education. This is indicated in a document of that Ministry (10 July 1825) which states that it "recognises as one of its duties the enlightenment of youth, and, being concerned with this, desires its enlightenment on a panhellenic basis, since it is through education that all benefits are gained" (70). But there seems to be no indication that this involvement had any specific religious orientation, and in any case, it appears to have been restricted to matters regarding particular schools, and was not concerned with general policies.

This divergence was ended with the appointment of a Secretary of State for Education, while the Legislature was also concerned with the matter in accordance with article 85 of the Constitution. The first Secretary, Gerasimos Koppas (or Koupas) was a distinguished person. He was 49 at the time of his appointment. Born in Cephalonia.

he went to Russia and served as an officer in the Russian Navy, his brother having distinguished himself in the Russian Army. He had studied Law, Mathematics and the Nautical Sciences.. He then returned to Cephalonia where he was employed in administrative posts. A member of the Filiki Etairia, he took an active part in the early stages of the War of Independence. In 1822 he was Secretary General of the Committee which functioned as Ministry of the Navy, and took part in many battles. Throughout the War he served either with the Navy or in administration. He died in Nafplion in 1832.

Michael Soutzos, who replaced him on 7 October 1827, was considerably younger than his predecessor (he was 29 at the time of his appointment), but also far less distinguished. His two younger brothers Panayotis and Alexandros were to become eminent poets and to play a political role in the liberal camp. Born in Constantinople, they all came to Greece during the War; his brothers left for Western Europe, but Michael stayed "seeking political posts though he was from all points of view inferior to his brothers" (71). However, Mavrokordatos, who apparently knew him personally, thought that he was noteworthy on account of his education and morals and warmly recommended him to the government for an administrative post (72). Indeed, in June 1824 he was appointed Governor (Eparchos) in Athens, but he does not seem to have been very successful

in gaining the affection or the esteem of the Athenians (73). There is no indication of his holding the post for more than one year. After Capodistrias' arrival, when all Secretaries were dismissed, he served as Governor in Santorini, then for a time as Secretary of the Senate, and much later as consul of Greece in Thessaloniki; he died in Athens in 1866 (74).

During his service in Athens in 1824 he is known to have been concerned with the re-organisation of the Hellenic (i.e. intermediate) school of the town; he also became involved in more general matters regarding the running of schools in Athens. All this he announced to the Athenians in a circular issued on September 12 and published in the newspaper of Missolongi (75). His style is full of the rhetorical clichés and sophisticated modesty usual at that time, as well as abundant references to ancient glories. On the same matter - and in the same style - he wrote to General Gouras, the military strong-man of Athens, inviting him to act as one of the governors of the school (76). He was apparently proud of his educational activities in Athens, but it seems that the most important role in running the schools there was played, at the time, by the Philomuse Society.

On Capodistrias' arrival, Michael Soutzos submitted, as did the other Secretaries of State, a report on his activities (14/26 January 1828) to the President:

"Il y a trois mois que le soussigné fut charge de sécrétariat pour la justice et pour l'instruction publique, fardeau qui était au dessus de ses forces. Il s'est vu des lors réduit à ne savoir que faire dans ces deux branches de l'administration, et à ne pouvoir remplir le moindre de ces devoirs (... ...)

"Le sécrétaire pour l'instruction publique sentait vivement le devoir de concourir de tous ses moyens à l'établissement des institutions nécessaires pour l'education de la jeunesse; le ministère n'a pas manqué de mettre sous les yeux du corps législatif des projets de lois pour se faire octroyer les fonds nécessaires à l'établissement des écoles provinciales et generales, dans un endroit de l'état qui fut à l'abri des désastres de la guerre. Mes projets furent acceuillis, une commission fut nommée pour les examiner; mais rien n'a été fait jusqu'à présent. J'eus la douleur de voir tous mes efforts sans effet, et il me fut impossible de faire ce que j'avais eu le bonheur de faire à Athènes lorsque j'étais prefet de cette ville, ainsi que Votre Excellence en a peut-être connaissance, si elle a parcouru les journaux de cette époque" (77).

This report is better known in Greek histories of education for its being misquoted than for its significance in the evaluation of the second (he is usually referred to as first) Secretary of State for Education (78). His statement that rien n'a été fait jusqu'à présent has been taken to refer to the whole period of the War of Independence, while it clearly covers only the three months of his own service at the Ministry (79). Whether

this distortion results from negligence or from a desire to strengthen the argument that Capodistrias was the first Greek leader to place education high in the national priorities and organise it, is irrelevant in the present context. It should, however, be noted that not only has the report been misused by historians but itself contains some misleading concepts. Soutzos appears to blame the Legislative Body for the fact that nothing had been done to implement the projects which he had submitted to it. He most probably refers to the project discussed by the Legislative Body on 20 December 1827, which was mentioned above. In that case his complaint is that no action had been taken, not during the three months of his service (which anyhow is too short a period for any measures to take effect) but during the twenty-five days which had elapsed between the discussion of the project and the submission of the Report.

Contrary to what Soutzos seems to imply, and to the common interpretation of his Report, it has been shown here that his project had been seriously considered by the Legislative Body, which, during his term of office, had also shown its concern for education in other ways. Moreover, in the six and a half years which had preceded his appointment, the state, in spite of its occupation with the War, had taken very important steps in formulating its educational policies, planning their implementation, and expressing in several ways its belief in the value of

education. It had not only contributed to the creation of the cultural climate which would facilitate the building up of a national education system, but had also laid down principles indispensable for its effective establishment.

c THE PRIVATE INITIATIVE

While the State suthorities were formulating official policies in education, and taking measures to apply the relevant constitutional provisions, private groups were also active in the field. Their contribution had been more directly related to practice than to theory, which is the main concern in this study, but the mere existence and functioning of these groups is significant in assessing the general attitude towards education. Moreover, in this investigation of foreign influences private groups seem to offer a more direct indication of such influences than governmental institutions. Indeed, three major private groups developed an interest in education during the period under review (the Philomuse Society, the Philanthropic Society, and the group proposing the establishment of an Academy) and all three had clear direct or indirect links with Western Europe. Significantly, again, these links were with England and France. Finally, books and newspapers published on non-governmental initiative during the period under review seem to reveal the same attitude towards education and to reflect similar influences.

i. The Philomuse Society

On 1 September 1813, long before the outbreak of the War of Independence, the Philomuse Society was founded in Athens (1). Its aims were archaeological and educational; specifically regarding education, its "Regulations" provided that the money collected would be used for "the cultivation and enlightenment of the Hellenic spirit of the young ("tou Ellinikou pnevmatos ton neon") by the study of the sciences, the publication of useful books, the helping of needy pupils" (2). In a list of members dated 30 June 1814, out of a total of 100 there are to be found 21 Athenians and 51 foreigners; of these 22 were Britons, among them Charles Robert Cockerell, the architect and archaeologist, Thomas S. Hughes, his companion during his travels in Greece, later ordained in the Anglican Church, John Oliver Hanson, a Colonel Church (probably Richard); and entries from London, Liverpool, Cambridge, Dublin, Forres, and Guernsey. Among the Greeks appear the names of Sp. Chomatianos, British Consul in Athens, of Teresa Makri and Ioannis Marmarotouris, closely associated with Byron; of Spyridon Trikoupis, of Athenian primates and teachers (3). At about that time Lord Guilford was nominated honorary President of the Society (4).

It was suggested that the Society was at that or a later time a cover for the revolutionary Filiki Etairia, or at least that it had a political rather than cultural

character; but there seems to be no sufficient proof of this (5). An interesting development, however, is that Anthimos Gazis, who later was appointed President of the 1824 Committee on Education, and representative of the Society in Vienna, invited Capodistrias to support its work. Significantly, in the latter's mind there was apparently no doubt that the Society had been founded by the English (6); as a counterweight he organised a branch of it in Vienna, and with the help of the Metropolitan Ignatios secured the financial support of many of the foreign rulers participating in the Vienna Conference. The particular aim of the Vienna Branch of the Society was to give financial help to the schools in Athens and Milies; but, following a proposal by Capodistrias (the legality of which has been questioned), the Vienna Branch decided in 1815 to use the money only to support a scheme of scholarships for Greek young men studying in Germany (7).

In Athens the Society seems to have been helped only once with the money raised on its behalf in Western Europe, and though there is evidence that it was not dissolved, there seems to be no record of its activities between 1815 and 1824, when it was revived, again by British initiative. It was Leicester Stanhope's desire to found (apparently following an idea of John Bowring) a "utilitarian society for the purpose of spreading knowledge and everything that contributes to good government" that stirred up the activities of the Philomuse Society in

1824 (8). For this purpose he wrote to General Odysseus, then the strong man of Athens, asking for his approval of this idea (16 March); four days later Stanhope wrote to Bowring:

> "Instead of a utilitarian society which I proposed, the Athenians have resolved to reorganize the Philo-Muse Society, and to make it embrace all the objects I had in contemplation" (9).

Stanhope even drafted a letter announcing the reorganisation which he thought should be published; in it the members of the Society declared that:

> "from all quarters they solicit information concerning education, the fine arts, legislation, political economy, agriculture, horticulture, commerce, mechanics, and public institutions. Books, especially elementary ones, on useful subjects, in French, Italian, German, or modern Greek, will be thankfully received" (10).

However, the official announcement of the reorganisation did not come until October 1824, and then with a text which had no resemblence to Stanhope' draft. Of previous activities the announcement claimed credit for the Society for the foundation of a school in Athens, and, significantly, "the small assistance it gave to poor students studying in Europe" (11). It should be mentioned that one of the signatories of this announcement was another scholar of the Vienna Branch, Georgios Psyllas, who was collaborating with Stanhope for the foundation of a newspaper in Athens. There is, however, no mention of

the Vienna Branch in the announcement.

In the meantime the Society had planned the foundation of a public library, a school of the mutual method, a "school for the Sciences", a botanical garden, an archaeological museum, and possibly a University and an Academy of Fine Arts (12). For these establishments the local authorities provided buildings and sites (April 1824), these allocations (except the one for the museum) being approved by the central government (November) (13). Further, a new governing committee (eforoi) of the Society had been appointed (September) (14).

The Society maintained close contacts with the British philhellenes: it was involved in the affair, to be discussed later, of the boys who were to be sent to England with Blaquiere, and Stanhope was regularly informed about its activities and progress (15). His statement of contributions from his personal funds during his stay in Greece includes £20 to the Philomuse Society, and £20 to the Lancasterian School at Athens; another £20 he offered to the same school on behalf of the London Greek Committee (16). The esteem in which the Society held the Lancasterian system is illustrated by the fact that:

> "in order to propagate even more this outstanding method of education (it) saw to it that every other common school following a different system was stopped. In such a school the unfortunate children lose their

> precious time, being unable to read well or write, even after three or four years of effort and expense" (17).

It was in 1825 that the Society was most active in the field of education. During that year it employed in its school the services of Georgios Gennadios, who earlier had been asked to head the state Model School at Argos; it appointed representatives in Nafplion (including S. Trikoupis and Th. Farmakidis); and took measures to protect the antiquities. Reporting on its educational activities in October that year it states that it was running two Lancasterian schools (one for boys and one for girls) and one school "of the Greek language and culture" (18). It should be noted here that the Society's Lancasterian school for girls was run by Neofyton Nikitoplos, and was probably the most "progressive" school functioning in Greece during the period under review. Its organisation, due, apparently, to the initiative of the Schoolmaster, reflects both a liberal spirit and a belief in political education. A detailed description of the system followed by Nikitoplos (whose personality is described in the following chapters) has survived in the Report which he submitted to the Society at the end of the first year of his work, on 3 January 1826 (19). He says that:

"Such a school represents in miniature a whole nation; for this reason it must be organised more or less according to the political system of the nation, so that the pupil will be accustomed from an early age to govern and to be governed according to the laws. I have first suggested to the common assembly of the school that every nation has laws, and according to what the law says the people act; for this reason we, too, in our School must write laws, and proceed according to what they say. Then I proposed and the Assembly elected by vote nine legislators while I am the tenth. And thus we formulated the laws to which all agreed and which were signed by the elected legislators. Then, following elections by the Assembly, I appointed the Governors; they form the Government of our School and, together with myself, sign the reports of the School".

In this organisation the teacher ("a sort of Legislative Body") had to consult learned people and decide on the lessons to be taught in the School and on matters regarding its organisation. Of the pupils, one was acting as the "Executive Body", following the instructions of the teacher, and others had duties equivalent to the Minister of the Interior, and the Minister of Police; these girls were given many and varied responsibilities in the running of the School. The organisation was completed by the establishment of the Judiciary:

> "When the elected legislators laid down the laws and the Governors were elected, there followed by vote the election of ten Judges (nine pupils and myself).

The description of the Court is posted in four places in the School. I have written the four general virtues - Wisdom, Justice, Prudence, Courage - so that Justice was written above the Laws.

The Court meets twice a day after school. The Court aims more at (giving) advice and (ensuring) justice than at (exacting) punishement.

Governors and judges are replaced every month or every year."

It has been suggested that the Society ceased to exist in 1826 (20), but in February 1828 (immediately after the arrival of Capodistrias) its leaders approved collaboration with the Philanthropic Society in its reorganised, more educational form (described below), proposed by the representative of the Church Missionary Society, C.L. Korck (21). Moreover, as late as April 1831 another missionary, the American Jonas King, contacted the Philomuse Society, which, he thought, "might be considered in some sort as still having existence", asking for its support in his plan to establish a school in Athens; in answer he received the assurance of its "warm and zealous" support (22).

There is, as has been seen, a constant relationship of the Society with foreigners all the way from its foundation, through its reorganisation, to its last known action; it is reinforced by the active role played in the running of the Society by George Christian Gropius, the Austrian Consul in Athens (23). His contacts with British

travellers to Greece before the War of Independence, his appointment at some time as British Consul in Trikeri (Volos), his being among the first members of the Society in 1813-14, and his contacts with the philhellenes during the War are characteristic of the way in which the Philomuse Society formed a link between Greece and the rest of Europe, and England in particular.

ii. The Philanthropic Society

If the reactivation of the Philomuse Society can be attributed to Leicester Stanhope, it is to another British philhellene, Edward Blaquiere, that one could ascribe the promotion of the second group of this type of organisation founded in Greece during the period under review, the Philanthropic Society. Its statutes, signed on 1 August 1824, laid down that:

> "The Society will occupy itself with
>
> 1. The clothing and supporting of the poor, sick, widows and orphans.
>
> 2. The education or orphans and destitute children."

It further provided that "individuals of every nation and condition are eligible to become members of the Philanthropic Society", that the Society will appoint "agents or correspondents in the provinces or abroad", and that "it will keep up a correspondence with the foreign members resident out of Greece, in reference to

objects coming within the views of the Society". It is also interesting to note that unlike the Philomuse Society, which was centred in Athens, it was provided that the Philanthropic Society "will be fixed and hold its meetings wherever the seat of government may be established" (24).

A three-member deputation of the Society presented its statutes to the Legislative Body on 9 August. It consisted of Nikolaos Gerakaris, apparently the initiator of it, who was a doctor educated in Padua, Emmanual Xenos, a learned Greek from Odessa, and Edward Blaquiere. The participation of the last of these must be seen as an expression of a desire to increase the importance of the deputation, and also as an indication of his possible involvement in the foundation of the Society. Blaquiere had been present at the first meeting of the Society and although he claims that it had "originated with the citizens" it is very likely that he had encouraged its foundation (25). That at least one other foreigner, the French philhellene Olivier Voutier, may have been involved in the foundation of the Society is suggested by his use of the first person in a letter dated Nafplion, 6 August 1824, where he says "Nous venons de former une société philanthropique ..." (26). But even if Blaquiere and Voutier did not play an important role in the foundation of the Society, its desire to come into contact with foreign countries is evident not only in the relevant clauses of its statute mentioned above, but also in a letter

addressed by it on 12 August 1824 to Joseph Hume, Willian Allen, Jeremy Bentham, and John Bowring, the honorary Secretary of the London Greek Committee. Blaquiere's known relationship with these addressees strongly suggests that they had been chosen on his advice. The letter, after stating that because of disease and povery "thousands (of Greeks) are ... prevented from going forth against the enemy" and "our youth (are) left without instruction", invited the addressees to become "the agents and represent-atives of the Society in Great Britain" (27). The fact that, as will be seen, towards the end of that year the British and Foreign Society issued its first "Appeal to the Public on the Subject of Education in Greece", may well have some relationship with the Philanthropic Society's letter.

Societies, however, were in general looked upon with suspicion in Greece, as elsewhere, at that time, and the Legislative Body did not welcome the Philanthropic Society's statutes without some hesitation. A special committee was appointed to study it; changes were proposed; it was also suggested that it should be named "Institution" instead of "Society", and a correspondence with the Executive Body was opened on the matter; the Legislative appearing to be more favourably disposed towards the plan after all than the Executive Body (28). Further discourage-ment came from Ioannis Louriotis, one of the Greek deputies in London, who in a letter dated 18/30 October 1824 wrote:

"The foundation there of the Philanthropic Society makes an unfavourable impression on the friends of Greece, since all such societies have been banned by Kings all over Europe as being considered to aim at the destruction of thrones and the common peace; consequently the one established in Greece, too, although having a very different spirit and aim, will be considered as such and there is no doubt that it will provoke anger and indignation" (29).

However, despite these obstacles, the Society proceeded to the fulfilment of the first of its aims and founded a hospital in Nafplion. At the same time, and even before the end of the relevant deliberations in the Legislative Body, which continued well into the month of September, the Society appointed representatives in Mesolongi (14 August 1824), among whom was the Swiss Dr. Johan-Jacob Meyer, editor of the Ellinika Chronika (30). Other representatives were appointed some months later (5 October) in Athens; they included Georgios Psyllas, editor of the Efimeris ton Athinon (31). In all instances, however, both at its headquarters and at its branches it had in appearance at least, a charitable rather than an educational character.

It was only in February 1826, when the state undertook the responsibility for running a hospital in Nafplion, that the Philanthropic Society turned towards the fulfilment of its second aim, and opened a Lancasterian school in that town (32). Its teacher, Georgios Constantinou, had been trained at the Borough Road School of the British and

Foreign School Society in London, (see the following chapter). It is, however, significant that this English-trained teacher was succeeded by Neofytos Nikitoplos, who had previously organised the "progressive" girls' school of the Philomuse Society in Athens, as mentioned above, and who, apparently, had had French training (33). Further, at the time of the establishment of the school in Nafplion, eminent scholars specifically interested in education, such as Georgios Gennadios and Theoklitos Farmakidis, were involved in the running of the Society (34). More interesting, perhaps, regarding the Society's links with Britain, is the fact that this change of orientation coincides with the participation of another British philhellene, Edward Masson, in its activities (35).

A further involvement of the Society in educational matters is also mentioned elsewhere in this study: in 1827 it was to collaborate with a Parliamentary Permanent Committee on Education in the general supervision of the schools in the country. There seems to be no evidence that such a collaboration ever took place, but it is relevant to recall that in France the Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire had been in close collaboration with the state over the organisation of an educational system, and that in England both the British and Foreign School Society and the National Society were playing leading roles in the steps taken towards the establishment of elementary education; similar relationships are also to be found in

Russian education (36).

Finally, it was again an agent of an English Body, C.L. Korck of the Church Missionary Society, who in 1828 thought of reorganising the Society, giving to it solely educational aims. He submitted a plan to President Capodistrias which specified that the general aim of the Society would be particularly the moral and scientific education of Greek youth. As a first step the Society would found schools of the mutual method where education would be combined with the Evangelical truth; two such schools, one for boys and one for girls, would be immediately established in Aigina. As under the previous statute, the Central Committee of the Society would function at the seat of the government; a special clause provided for an invitation to the President to put the Society under his aegis (37). As already mentioned, the plan gained the approval of the Philomuse Society which promised its collaboration. Nothing, however, seems to have resulted from this initiative. Further, Korais in his anonymously published Symmikta says that Capodistrias dissolved the Philanthropic Society, but no evidence of such an action seems to have survived (38); the Symmikta contain, of course, a number of anti-Capodistrian exaggerations, and it is known that the Society's school at Nafplion was still functioning with Nikitoplos in April 1828, at the beginning of Capodistrias' rule (39). However,

a few months later, in November, it was reported that the running of the school had been undertaken by the state (40). On the other hand, the Society had then run into difficulties both in administration and finance, and there is no evidence that it was in a position to continue its activities (41).

iii. Plan for a Private Academy

It was again in 1824, the year that proves to have been the most interesting of the period under review in matters of education, that a group of thirty-one citizens submitted to the Legislative Body a plan dated 10 April 1824, for the establishment of an Academy which would be "under the protection of the government and named Pritanaeum or Didaktirion (Institut) similar to that of wise France (tis sofis Gallias)" (42). It has been suggested that the plan had been drafted by Skylitsis Omiridis, and this view is reinforced by Blaquiere, who had met him during his second visit to Greece, calls him "my friend" and describes him as insisting "more particularly on the necessity and importance of education and moral improvement, without which he conceives it will be impossible to consolidate the social edifice" (43). At the time of Blaquiere's departure (August 1824) Omiridis "was busily occupied in projecting a national Pritanaeum" (44). Indeed, the application providing for the establishment of this "Academic Institution" was

submitted for approval to the Legislative Body on 22 July. It was then discussed at the meetings of the 23rd, 24th, 25th and 28th of the month, when it was decided to postpone any decision on the matter; it seems that the issue was never raised again (45). Consequently here, too, it is with intentions rather than with results that we are concerned, and more particularly with the possible foreign influences behind those intentions.

There are in this instance clearer indications of such influences than on other occasions. Not only has the plan itself, as already mentioned, an explicit reference to the prototype of the proposed institution, but the signatories include personalities with obvious foreign connections. One group, for instance, was composed of disciples of Korais; among them mention should be made of Skylitsis Omiridis himself, a member of a well-known Chiot family, born in Smyrna, who had lived in Marseilles and Paris, where he had become a friend of Korais. Constantinos Zografos, too, was a friend of Korais, to whose circle Georgios Spaniolakis and Georgios Ainian also belonged. Neofytos Vamvas, the former head of the School of Chios was at the time moving away from the influence of Korais but formed a definite link with Britain since he was then in Cefallonia, closely collaborating with the British and Foreign Bible Society. Anastasios Polyzoidis had just returned from London where he had served as secretary to the Greek deputies; Ioannis Karantinos was

teaching at Lord Guilford's Ionian Academy, and Anastasios Londos had been a friend of Byron. Then, the list contains a number of scholars mentioned elsewhere in this study as being directly involved in educational matters. Among them were Grigorios Constantas, Anthimos Gazis, Georgios Cleovoulos, Georgios Gennadios and Veniamin (Lesvios) Karre. The names of Dimitrios Gouzelis (the very liberal writer from Zante), Ioannis Theotokis (of a distinguished family of Corfu) and Georgios Glarakis (a former scholar of the Vienna branch of the Philomuse Society who had studied in Germany) appear in this list as well as under the Statute of the Philanthropic Society. Special mention should be made of two other signatories: the controversial Ioannis Kolettis, the French-trained former doctor of Ali Pasha of Tepeleni, and Georgios Kallaras. To both has been attributed the writing of the Elliniki Nomarchia, the text of extreme revolutionary aspirations published anonymously in 1806. Panoutsos Notaras, then Vice-President of the Legislative Body, had also signed the plan (46).

It has been observed that such scholars as Spyridon Trikoupis, Theophilos Farmakidis and Nikolaos Chrysogelos had not signed the project (47). The list of those who might have done so but did not could be enlarged so as to include at least the rest of those mentioned in this study as having been particularly interested in educational and cultural matters. But in the absence of evidence as to the causes of their non-participation any attempt to explain

it would not go beyond mere speculation.

It appears, however, that in the first instance it was not the plan itself that had been submitted to the Legislative Body. The minutes of the latter referring to the application mention , among the other characteristics of the Academy, financial contributions of the philhellenes which would support it, the foundation of a school, and a request for the provision of a building suitable for the meetings of the Institution. None of these is included in the plan itself, which apparently was submitted to the Legislative Body on its explicit demand on the last day on which the matter was discussed (28 July 1824) (48).

The institution described in the plan was to consist of one hundred members and to have as its primary concern "the moral shaping of the Greek nation " and "the improvement of the Sciences and Arts" (49). Each member would be constantly occupied in devising "useful inventions" which, after having been approved by the General meeting of the institution, would be submitted to the Legislative Body for approval before being implemented. It also provided for a library. The members would meet twice a week and would dine together every Sunday. An interesting point is that they would not be paid for their services but on the contrary would contribute financially to the institution according to their means, but a relatively high minimum contribution was fixed.

However remote the indebtedness to the French Institut may be, this plan for an independent Academy is in many ways significant in the present context. Its clearly foreign (mainly French) source of inspiration has already been mentioned and its "European" character is underlined by the provision that it would maintain "a regular correspondence with all the Philanthropic and Philhellenic Societies of Europe". From another point of view it is interesting to note that the provision of one hundred members implies the belief of the signatories that such a number of distinguished scholars existed at that time among the Greeks; this is particularly significant in view of the familiar argument that lack of scholars in sufficient numbers prevented the foundation of establishments of higher education in Greece in the years that followed the arrival of President Capodistrias. Finally, it should be remarked that though this plan was not explicitly related to the other projects discussed in this study, it would form the natural apex of the educational pyramid which, it seems, the Greeks intended to establish.

iv. Newspapers and Books.

Bearing in mind the reservations expressed in Chapter II of this study as to the extent to which books and newspapers influenced "public opinion" during the years under review, mention should be made here of the concern which was expressed through them on educational matters.

Moreover, in this investigation of tendencies and influences it should be noted that, of the four main newspapers published during the years examined here (Ο Filos tou Nomou in Ydra, Ellinika Chronika in Mesolongi, Efimeris ton Athinon in Athens, and Geniki Efimeris tis Ellados, the Greek General Gazette), three were in one way or another connected with philhellenes. Thus the papers in Athens and Mesolongi were printed on presses provided by the good offices of Leicester Stanhope (agent of the London Greek Committee) while the one in Ydra had been donated by the French publisher, A. Firmin-Didot. On the other hand a Swiss (Johan-Jacob Mayer) and an Italian (Guizepe N. Chiappe) were directing the papers in Mesolongi and Ydra respectively. Georgios Psyllas, a former scholar of the Vienna branch of the Philomuse Society, who had studied in Germany and in Italy and appears to have been at the time inspired by liberal and "European" ideas, was in charge of the paper in Athens; he, too, was helped by Stanhope. The General Gazette was directed during this period by Theoklitos Farmakidis, the former Eforos of education whose connections with Western culture and education have been reviewed in the previous pages (50).

These factors must have contributed considerably to the formation of the general cultural characteristics of the newspapers as well as to the particular place which was being given among their contents to educational matters.

In addition to current information about measures taken in education by the various authorities, and news regarding foundations of schools or the activities of cultural societies, longer articles on education were frequently published. These often referred to the advantages of the Lancasterian system of instruction, and among them, special mention should be made in the present context of one published in four instalments in the Efimeris ton Athinon in November 1824; it was entitled "Impression of the New Pedagogy, or Mutual Method, invented by Lancaster (translated from the English)" (51). There is no indication as to the origin of the text, the translator, or the initiator of the publication, but it is a rather detailed account of the activities of the British and Foreign School Society in Britain, with references to the spread of the method in France, Russia, Spain, Germany, India, Africa and America. The text also stresses the contribution of literacy to the decline of crime (an argument much used in England at the time), and the obligation of the "upper classes to look after the moral and Christian education of the poor". It must be noted that the article appeared only a few months after Edward Blaquiere had left Greece accompanied by ten Greek boys (one of them from Athens, as will be seen in the next chapter) who were to be educated in Britain, mostly under the auspices of the British and Foreign School Society.

The publication, however, came two months after the arrival in Greece of Georgios Constantinou (the Cypriot boy who had received teacher training from the School Society in London) and Edward Masson (the Scottish philhellene who went to Greece under the auspices of the London Greek Committee with the intention of promoting education) but there seems to be no indication that either of them was in Athens at that time.

Of articles with a more theoretical orientation which appeared at the time, mention should be made here of a publication in Ellinika Chronika (1 March 1824) entitled "Thoughts addressed to my compatriots: The meaning of Freedom", which supports the view that "when you help in the foundation and propagation of schools, you really help the safeguarding of your persoanl freedom" (52). On other occasions the views expressed are even more explicit:

> "Take care (...) of the enlightenment of your minds, and of the enlightenment of your children. Have you not yet understood this? Where ignorance exists, there are to be found in the greatest number the most inhuman demagogues (laoplanoi). These demagogues decry enlightenment so that you remain blind, so that they, who have their cunning eyes half open, may manipulate you." (53).

These few examples combined with the predominant place frequently given to educational matters in general adequately illustrate that the newspapers of the time, either reflecting the popular inclinations or accentuating them, constantly kept alive the general interest in

education, and cultivated the idea that real freedom could not be maintained without literacy and enlightenment.

On the other hand, while the number of books published in Greek had fallen sharply at the beginning of the War of Independence, they started rising again in 1823 (54). They included, as before, a considerable percentage of translation, but in the field of education there is a marked lack or works dealing with the theory of the subject (a contrast with the pre-War record) and a concentration on more practical manuals. Regarding foreign contributions in this area, that is of educational publications made by foreigners in Modern Greek, as opposed to translations made on Greek initiative, mention should be made in the present context of the relevant publications of the British and Foreign School Society. Summarising its activities related to Greece, it recorded in 1831 the printing of 8 different works giving a total of 2,700 copies; of these, the texts worth noting here are the 1,000 copies of the Scripture Lessons published in 1824 (55). This, the most important publication of the School Society in Modern Greek, was not, however, the first reader to be translated from English by an English agent at the time.

In 1823, Samuel S. Wilson, agent of the London Missionary Society in Malta, published there a "Tutor's Guide", as he calls it, (Tou Didaskalou o Odigos) (56); it was, according to its compiler and publisher, "a sort

of eclectic compendium of some of our best English spelling books" (57). What makes this publication particularly significant here is not so much that it seems to be the first in a series of similar books (after all, readers of this sort had been printed before by the Greeks themselves) but the fact that it demonstrates in several ways the existence of relationships which characterise Western influences in Greek education at the time. The climate within which this relationship was developing is shown by the fact that, as stated in the author's introduction, some sections of the book are based on Vamvas' "Moral Philosophy" and Gazis' "Greek Library" (58); at the end of the book is printed a "Conclusion" consisting of quotations from Korais' introduction to the second volume of Plutarch's "Lives" (59). But more significant and interesting than these indications is the text of an introduction by Vamvas himself which is printed at the beginning of the book. It is a severe criticism of the old methods followed in Greek schools, and expresses a new approach to education. The writer asks "Which are the good lessons? Which is the good method?" and presents his answers:

> "Most parents and teachers, because of a bad beginning and a bad habit, have accepted as good lessons and good method those which are nothing but the contrary. (...). They put into the children's hands books written in Ancient Greek, which is not understood even by most teachers. (...) As a result the unfortunate,

> innocent children spend two or three years without learning anything but how to read mechanically, and even this in an unnatural way and with many mistakes. During all this time they acquire no moral or natural truth; and after such a long and fruitless effort their minds are degraded and become unable to make judgements, and - even more terrible - they acquire a dislike and hatred for learning. (...). On the other hand the method followed by most teachers is indeed lamentable and worthy of indignation. Instead of treating innocent children with affection and moderation in order to win their good-will as well as their respect, they use their eyes, hands and voice tyrannically. Instead of cultivating the child's natural curiosity and desire to learn by telling it stories and giving descriptions of animals, plants, and other similar things, they spend the whole day in dry and uncoordinated spelling exercises and irrelevant readings" (60).

These views are, of course, only repetitions of attitudes adopted during the immediate pre-War years by "progressive" Greek scholars, as they have been described in Chapter II, but it is significant that they are now being found in conjunction with efforts made by foreigners to promote education in Greece.

Another publication which has its place among these examples of foreign contributions to Greek education is the translation of the Manual of the British System (i.e. the description of the Lancasterian method of instruction) into Modern Greek. Its first recorded edition is the one made in Malta in 1827 by the American missionary,

Daniel Temple, complete with plates and tables provided by the British and Foreign School Society (61). However, in 1822 the annual Report of that Society recorded that a Modern Greek translation of the Manual had been printed; this was probably done with the help of the Rev. Isaac Lowndes of the London Missionary Society, while the text had been revised by Athanasios Politis, the promoter of the method in the Ionian Islands (62). Of this early edition there seems to be no trace, and in 1830 Ioannis Kokkonis, in his report to a committee specially appointed to decide on the most appropriate method to be used in Greek schools, mentions only a manuscript which he ascribes to Politis, a "compiled description of the method, much abridged, made for the use of teachers in the Ionian Islands" while he claims to have examined all existing manuals in Modern Greek (63). Indeed, and this is significant, Kokkonis mentions three manuscript descriptions, and only one printed, presumably, judging by the context, the one of 1827 by Temple. Of this work he is very critical, saying that:

> "the methods of teaching reading, writing and counting are confusing and at many points incomplete; and the writer of the book appears to be a foreigner ignoring the idioms of the spoken language, which undoubtedly he has learned only through books. There are so many inaccuracies and foreign expressions, that in many parts (the text) becomes altogether incomprehensible, and hence difficult to use and absolutely useless to us" (64).

These comments, however, are not really justified. The text of the Greek Manual is not much different from other similar publications of the time, even those written by native speakers; but, then, Kokkonis was trying to establish the superiority of the French Manual by Louis-Charles Sarazin, of which he wanted to be assigned the translation (65). The fact remains that Temple's translation was the first book describing the Lancasterian method in Modern Greek, and apparently, the only one among those seen by Kokkonis, to have a section on the education of girls. These points demonstrate both an important aspect of the foreign contribution to Greek education at the time, and the character of missionary work in that field.

A comprehensive study of the missionary publications in Modern Greek, and the compilation of the complete relevant bibliography have still to be made. The publication of a series of Addenda, begun in recent years in Eranistis to complete the Ginis Mexas Bibliography, reveals the relatively large number of such publications which were missed by the bibliographers. On the other hand, comparisons between the few catalogues compiled by the publishers or their agencies with present-day bibliographies indicate the even more incomplete character of the latter (66). However, regarding education, the two books mentioned above seem to be the best examples in this field, especially since they belong to a period when there were no similar

publications. Later the ground was increasingly covered by Greek authors or publishers, and the distribution of missionary publications became increasingly difficult, thus diminishing the importance of this missionary activity.

CHAPTER IV

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTIONS TO DEVELOPMENTS IN GREEK EDUCATION

Apart from the indirect foreign influences to which Greek education had been subjected between 1821 and 1827, and which have been discussed in the previous pages, there have been certain more direct contacts in this field. They concern either Greeks who were trained as teachers abroad and returned to work in their country, or foreigners who went to Greece with the specific intention of helping in educational matters. Motives behind these actions may range from pure philanthropy to the most enthusiastic philhellenic aspirations, from sheer professionalism to the most ambitious political expectations; but they undoubtedly contributed to closer contact between Greek education and some of the latest developments in teaching practice, and to a certain extent in educational philosophy. This must have influenced the formulation of Greek policies in education.

Here, again, contacts with England, and to a lesser extent with France and America, seem to have been the most

important, and in these Societies such as the British and Foreign School Society and the Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire played an important role. It is their contributions to Greek education, as well as that of some other agencies, which are discussed in the following pages.

a THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY

i. Purposes and Plans

In 1819 the distinguished Quaker William Allen came to the conclusion that "the Greeks are a people eminently worth caring for", and that "if any country on the face of the earth needs a system of universal education more than another, it is Greece" (1). This was the outcome of his visit to the Ionian Islands, Chios, and parts of the Greek mainland, to which he went during a long voyage he undertook with Stephen Grellet, the Franco-American Quaker (2). Allen's interest in Greece found a way of expressing itself two years later, when he helped the victims of the War of Independence through the Society of Friends and through personal contacts with leading politicians of the time (3). But in Allen's mind philanthropy and universal education seemed to be inseparable, as were his duties as Secretary of the Society of Friends and Treasurer of the British and Foreign School Society. Thus during his 1819 visit he was particularly interested in the existing schools, and he and his companion "availed themselves of every opportunity of diffusing a knowledge of the system (i.e. of the method of mutual instruction)" (4). But since the system was primarily geared to the teaching of the Scriptures he was shocked to realise that in Athens there was a school where the children were being taught "Socrates, Eusebius, Plato and Xenophon, but not Jesus Christ" (5).

Nevertheless, in Chios he met Neofytos Vamvas, and was very impressed by this acquaintance - as Vamvas' foreign visitors had frequently been (6). Allen was in Corfu when Athanasios Politis, fully informed about the mutual method, arrived there from Paris. These meetings gave Allen some comfort, and made him more optimistic about prospects existing in Greece. He presented the whole issue to the School Society and aroused their interest as well. However, at the beginning Allen and the School Society envisaged their activities as being confined to the Ionian Islands - then under British rule - and were only hoping that later "the system of mutual instruction will be the means of enlightening and blessing the inhabitants of that interesting country (Greece), once the asylum and citadel of freedom, and the land of classic lore" (7).

While the interest and enthusiasm of the School Society were mounting, in 1823 two Greek-Cypriot boys were brought to London and entered the Society's Central School at Borough Road. Their individual stories will be discussed later in this section; it is sufficient here to say that their presence in the Society's School raised its hoped that they would use their training for "the good of their country" (8).

The School Society subsequently became more directly involved in the promotion of education in Greece. This was when, in October 1824, Edward Blaquiere returned to

England after his second visit to Greece, accompanied by nine Greek boys and a young man escorting them. Two of the boys were to be sent to Hazelwood School under the care of Jeremy Bentham, while the rest would be educated at the School of the Society; expenses involved in the scheme were to be met by the Society of Friends, the School Society, and the London Greek Committee.

Blaquiere says that he thought of this enterprise when he read "a passage in one of Mr. Bowring's letters to Colonel Stanhope, in which he said that the great philanthropost and good man, William Allen, expressed a wish that twenty Greek youths might be sent to England, to be educated at a cheap rate" (9). On the other hand, during his visit to Greece, Leicester Stanhope, earlier in the same period, had been trying to find the two boys whom Bentham had proposed to send to Hazelwood School. The details of this undertaking are minutely set out by Bentham in a letter he addressed to Stanhope on 23 September 1823, but apparently the idea had originated earlier (10). Still, despite this careful preparation it seems that there remained some vagueness about the exact character of Bentham's offer (11).

As for Hazelwood School, it should be remembered that it was at the time among the most progressive schools in England. Founded in 1819 by Thomas Wright Hill and his three sons, it seems to combine Pestalozzian practices with the theories expressed by Richard Lovell and Maria

Edgeworth, the progressive educationists of the first decade of the 19th century. Like most nonconformist educationists of the time, the Hills were influenced by the ideas of Jeremy Bentham, who apparently had taken particular interest in their school. These influences are easily detected in the writings of the Hills which describe the principles and practices of the School (12). This is how some of them have been summarised by a present day historian:

> "The Hills tried to avoid the harsh methods of obtaining class order that were usual in the older schools, and sought to enlist the co-operation of the pupils through interest. Plenty of freedom was allowed the pupils in the choice of subjects for study, and the scheme of self-government adopted was based on a written constitution. Offenders were tried and awarded punishment by the boys themselves and, in order to foster a sense of responsibility, older pupils were allotted important duties in connection with the running of the school" (13).

The School also took a particular interest and pride in catering for foreign pupils (14).

It was to this school that the boys, whom Leicester Stanhope was trying to select on behalf of Jeremy Bentham, were to be sent. While Stanhope was in Messolongi in December 1823, he heard of "two extraordinary boys" living in Jannina; "one is ten years of age, and possesses a great talent for making extemporary poetry. The other is a little Jew, of seven years old, whom the Turks converted,

par force, on account of his calculating powers" (15). Stanhope intended to propose them for Hazelwood, but it appears that this idea did not materialise, for on his way back to England in May 1824, he made new offers: to Constantinos Botsaris, inviting him to send Marko's son; to Theodoros Kolokotronis, inviting his son; and to the Philomuse Society in Athens, asking them to send "some virtuous and highly gifted man" (16).

It should be noted, however, that while Blaquiere's idea, as will be seen, had the wider aim of training children who would eventually serve their country, one way of another, Stanhope seems to have been differently motivated. Despite the fact that Bentham - on whose behalf he was acting - appears to have intended the two boys to return to Greece after their education in England and be "employed as teachers for the diffusion of useful education" (17), Stanhope's invitations give the impression of being of a more philanthropic nature, deriving from a desire to help individual cases, and to help the sons of the leaders of the War, as a reward for their fathers' military achievements. But this would not apply to his invitation (made in the name of the London Greek Committee) to the Philomuse Society, whose nominee, he said, should later return to Greece and establish schools "on the most improved systems of education" in which the boy would be instructed in England (18).

While Stanhope was forwarding his invitations, the Greek deputies in London, Andreas Louriotis and Ioannis Orlandos, were giving similar advice in their letters to Greece; on 16 April 1824 they urged their compatriots to send to London "some twenty boys, sons of the best patriots, and among the most clever, to be educated in the various arts and crafts" (19). A few weeks later (3 May) they forwarded an offer made to them by William Allen to arrange for the training in the "Système Britannique d'enseignement mutuel" of "trois jeunes hommes de talents et de bons principes" who would be sent by the Greek government to England (20). On 12 May the deputies repeated the idea about the twenty boys, adding that these boys "on their return would bring to Greece the arts and the light of European civilisation" (21). For them the issue was related both to the importance of education for the emancipation of Greece, and to the good impression that such an act would make on the friends of the country abroad.

However, when Blaquiere decided to take action, all these various invitations and ideas had been more or less combined. The story has not been investigated before, and its interesting outcome justifies a detailed account of its development. This, then, is how the matter evolved, in chronological order, from the first offer made officially by Blaquiere until he arrived with the boys in London:

July 7: Blaquiere addressed the Legislative Assembly and among other proposals urged them to send with him to

England "the three (sic) (...) boys invited by (...) Mr. Bentham, and the twenty invited by the Society of Quakers". A decision on the matter was postponed. It was further postponed during the sessions of July 9 and 10 (22).

July 14: The Legislative Assembly discussed Blaquiere's proposals, and (a) agreed to send three boys to be educated according to Bentham's invitation; (b) rejected the invitation of the Quakers "because, for the present, circumstances do not allow its acceptance"; and (c) decided to send a letter of thanks to the Quakers (23).

July 19: Blaquiere again addressed the Assembly. By this time he had become more cautious and, as he says, "owing to the undefined nature of the proposal made by (...) Bowring" he"felt some repugnance at charging (himself) with more than ten (boys)". So at the Assembly he proposed that, "in addition to the three boys invited by Bentham, six more should be sent to be cared for by the London Greek Committee" (24).

July 21: (a) Trikoupis, on behalf of Blaquiere, made it clear to the Assembly that the twenty boys invited by the Quakers would not have to be educated at Quaker schools but could go to "the common schools of England". A proposal was made at the Assembly that a Greek teacher should be sent with the boys "to train them in the language of their ancestors". This apparently satisfied the Assembly, for they proceeded to discuss details of the matter. It was decided that ten of these boys would be twenty to twenty-two

years of age, having some elementary education; they would study subjects directly relevant to Greece, "such as engineering, trenching etc."; they would be selected proportionately from the various departments of the country. But final decisions were postponed until Blaquiere should present a full report on the matter. It was, however, proposed that in addition to the boys invited by Bentham and the Quakers, another ten should be sent to be educated at the expense of the Government; again no final decision war reached (25).

(b) Iakovos Tombazis wrote a letter to Blaquiere thanking him for offering, through Captain Frank Abney Hastings, to undertake to educate his two sons in England, and accepting the invitation. On hearing it his sons "leaped for joy, and (...) expressed their willingness to go anywhere for the acquirement of knowledge" (26).

(c) The Philomuse Society of Athens wrote a letter to Blaquiere thanking him for his offer for three boys nominated by the Society to be educated in England and reported that the boys had been selected (27).

July 22: The Legislative Assembly: (a) decided on the number of boys to be nominated by each department; (b) accepted the proposal that the son of Markos Botsaris should be sent as a nominee of the Central Government; (c) considered a private application by two candidates. No decision was taken. Deliberations were made on the basis of 23 boys to be sent. It was further decided that the boys

should be obliged to return to Greece at the end of their studies and serve for seven years as teachers, receiving the regular salary; after that period they would be free from any obligation (28).

July 23: The Assembly decided that in order to save time the boys would be selected by the deputies of the respective departments present at the Assembly (29).

July 25: (a) The Assembly deliberated on the choice of the teacher who would escort the boys to London, and since their first choice, Grigorios Constantas, did not accept the appointment, they unanimously agreed on Nikolaos Chrysogelos (30).

(b) The deputy of Ydra wrote to his local government informing them of the project and asking them to nominate the boys for the two places allocated to their island; expenses, he said, would be met by the "English nation, according to Mr. Blaquiere's assurance" (31).

July 26: Doubts having been expressed as to who would provide the expenses for the project, the Assembly reconsidered the relevant letters of the London Greek Committee and the Quaker Society, and, because it was clear that they would remain the responsibility of the Greek Government, a decision was postponed until Blaquiere could be consulted (32).

July 27: Ydra's local government replied to its deputy that there was "no time to select pupils who are to be sent to England" (33).

August 29: Blaquiere left Greece on board the Amfitriti with, among other passengers, nine boys and an escort - not Chrysogelos (34).

October 13: The Amfitriti, "the first vessel which had ever hoisted the Greek flag of independence in an English port", arrived in the Medway (35).

October 21: The nine boys were introduced by Blaquiere to the Greek Committee in London (36).

In its issue of 1 November, the New Monthly Magazine published the following note:

> "Considerable attention has been attracted in the City by several Greek youths, who have been visiting the public institutions of the Metropolis. (...). Two of them lately visited the Stock Exchange, and were received with loud cheers by all present. The costume in which they are attired is of a very costly description, and excited much admiration" (37).

This story may be a striking example of administrative incompetence on the part of the Greek Assembly, and of actions influenced by emotion rather than reason on the part of Blaquiere. But it certainly indicates considerable concern on the part of the Greek deputies in matters of education. Their decision, for instance, on 22 July to compel the youths to serve as teachers on their return, seems to go beyond any simple desire to satisfy international public opinion by taking steps to promote education, as proposed by the Greek deputies in London. This attitude is also implicit in the choice of the person who would escort the boys, regardless of the final appointment. The first

two considered, Constantas and Chrysogelos, were distinguished deputies of whom the former was to later become Eforos of Education (the highest post in education at the time) and the latter Secretary of State for Education (38).

On the English side mention should be made again of Jeremy Bentham, who, eventually, took under his care two of these boys and sent them to Hazelwood School. Among his papers lies a list with the names of the nine boys (some probably written by themselves) followed by their age, place of birth, father's occupation and"place where last residing" (39). Next to the names of the two boys who went to Hazelwood, a J.B. is written in Bentham's own hand. Also directly involved in looking after the boys who were taken under the care of the British and Foreign School Society was Robert Forster (1791-1873). A member of a well-known Quaker family in Tottenham, he was a surveyor, but had "devoted himself largely to labours for the general good. His energies throughout life were mainly devoted to the spread of education" (40). He was an active member of the School Society on the Committee of which he sat for many years; it was through this association that he became particularly interested in the Greek boys, as will be seen.

It seems, however, that despite the impression which this affair creates today, at the time the Greek authorities denied that they had any part in the form which it finally

took. Indeed, the President of the Executive Body, Georgios Koundouriotis, wrote to his brother Lazaros, who had complained that he had not been informed of Blaquiere's arrangements with the Greek authorities regarding the boys, that:

> "The government has not given young men to Blaquiere to take to London for education, but he himself took five or six hoping to persuade the philhellenes there who might pay for their education" (41).

ii. The Scholars

The fate of the boys who arrived with Blaquiere on the Amfitriti, and of some others who were also educated under the auspices of the British and Foreign School Society has not been investigated before. It proves, however, to be interesting in itself from the human point of view, and relevant to the establishment and development of relationships considered in this study. This justifies the rather detailed record which here follows of what is known about them after they arrived in London (*).

(*) The following abbreviations are used throughout these biographical notes:

BRL - Entry in the List of Students of the Borough Road School of the British and Foreign School Society for the corresponding year.
(C) - Part of the education of the boy took place in Colchester, probably in a private boarding school run by a Rev. Meshach Seaman (42).
b - born. Dates in brackets are deduced from the age noted on Bentham's list mentioned above.
d - died.

1. Nikolaos Vlachos: The escort. "A very fine young man", he had travelled with Blaquiere during his second visit to Greece. BRL 1824. He returned to Greece probably during the first quarter of 1825, when he was helped with £5 "for travel expenses" by the Greek deputies in London. He was then "fully qualified to teach the system" (43).

2. Efstratios Rallis: From Constantinople, son of a merchant, b. (1810). BRL 1824. He went with Stamos Nakos (see next entry) to Hazelwood School; their arrival was thus recorded in the periodical published by the pupils of the School:

> "Our present session commenced on Thursday, January 20th (1825) (...). The party whose arrival was most anxiously awaited was that from London; for in this were expected the two Greeks, who were coming to be instructed here; and as may be supposed, their appearance produced no small sensation".

At the first meeting of the School:

> "The Greeks (...) were so good as to appear on this occasion in the costume of their country, which is very splendid; this morning the curiosity which they excited exceeded that shown the preceding evening and was testified by the dead silence which their entrance produced".

In February 1826 he was still at Hazelwood School from where he wrote to Bentham enquiring about his health (44).

3. Stamos Nakos: From Levadia, son of Ioannis, a member of the Legislative Body. b. (1812). BRL 1824. In January 1825 he went to Hazelwood School (see previous

entry regarding his arrival there). In September of that same year he left for Greece, "having been some time ill". He later became Member of Parliament and of the Senate (45).

4. Georgios Tombazis; From Ydra, son of Iakovos, "Admiral"of the "Ydra Fleet". b. 1809. He was privately invited by Blaquiere. BRL 1824. Part of his education he received in Sowerby (Yorkshire) from where he wrote on 8 November 1825:

> "I am in good health and I like Sowerby and every other thing except that I have not a good companion. (...). My lessons are at present to read, to write, to spell, and translate out of the English Bible into Greek and from Greek into English, with the English and Latin Grammar" (46).

Between 1827 and 1829 he was at Hazelwood School, where he received prizes on several occasions; he was considered to be:

> "particularly meritorious, as he ably surmounted those obstacles, with which as native of a foreign nation (...) he had to contend".

He can probably be identified with the pupil who under the initials G.T. is recorded as participating in the discussions of the Governing Committee of the School (47). Later (1830), through arrangements made by English philhellenes, he studied shipbuilding in Portsmouth under the care of the Ralli Brothers of London. Eventually he returned to Greece and took over his uncle's shipyard. He twice became Minister in the Greek Cabinet (1870 and 1883); d. in Athens, 1892 (48).

5. Kostas Sotiris or Sotiriotis: From Souli, son of a colonel in the Greek army. b. (1813). BRL 1824; d. in Tottenham on 27 April 1827. On his death an account of him was published in the Missionary Register; it stated that he:

> "possessed very bright abilities; he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of English to read and speak it with fluency -- wrote a good English hand - and was advanced in arithmetic and the lower branches of mathematics, for which he has a great partiality. He was naturally of a hasty and impetuous temper; but care and education gradually softened his disposition; and his illness, which was a pulmonary consumption, the tendency to which his medical attendant thought had been of long duration, seemed marked by a good deal of religious sensibility: he loved to read the Bible, and learned to repeat many passages from it, as well as to recite several hymns, and was very careful to adhere to speaking the truth. The news of his father's death, who had fallen in battle, preyed much upon his illness - 'Oh, did I know that my father was in heaven, how glad I should be.' On being asked to what object he should like to direct his attention on returning home to his native country, he said, 'To teach my people to be better, and to show them what I have learned in England'" (49).

His gravestone bore the following inscription:

> "Far from his native Greece, the mortal part
> of Constantine Sotiris here was laid,
> almost ere childhood melted into youth.
>
> Bold, wild, and free the little Suliote came
> to England's shores a student; and his soul
> all knowledge, save of ill, with eager joy
> received; but chiefly with a spirit's thirst
> he drank the waters of immortal life.

Meek, mild, and calm, the little Suliote died;
his last breath murmured in his native tongue
the name of MOTHER. 'Twas a father's death
(sad tidings brought him in this foreign land)
first bade him droop. No hand of relative
closed his sad eyes. Yet left he mourners here,
true friends, whom his sweet gentleness had made;
and one of these inscribes this humble stone" (50).

6. Dimitrios Callifronas: From Athens, son of Panagis, b. 1812. His father, who had been a merchant, had died in 1819. Nominee of the Philomuse Society of Athens through the interest of the Austrian Consul, George Gropius. BRL 1824. Part of his schooling in England he received in Sutton and Sevenoaks under the care of a Mr. Townsend. Trinity College, Cambridge (1823), M.A. (1842). Naturalized British (1839), ordained Anglican deacon (Lincoln, 1842); married to Charlotte-Louise King, daughter of Lord King; d. in Nedging (near Ipswich) 1903. He wrote short Memoirs (dated 9 January 1892) of which a Greek translation was printed in 1957 (51).

7. Antonios Lambros: From Smyrna, b. in Paris (1813); his father had been an officer in Napoleon's service. BRL 1824 and 1830; (C). Capodistrias, in a letter to Robert Forster (dated 15/27 September 1829), expresses his willingness to employ him either in directing a school or in teaching at the Normal School which was to be established in Aigina (see also, below, the notes on Dimitrios Pieridis). He left England for Syra in October

1830, and was later teaching at Poros (1832) (52).

8. Ypatis Mariolakis: From Chios, son of a merchant. b. (1815). BRL 1831; (C). Left England for Syra in October 1833. On his leaving England it was remarked that:

> "in addition to a thorough acquaintance with the system of Mutual Instruction, and the usual branches of education, (he) had made considerable progress in geometrical studies. His conduct (...) was highly satisfactory to his friends".

He was employed as a teacher at the School run by F. Hildner, agent of the Church Missionary Society, in Syra (1835/36) (53).

9. Leonidas Drakakis: From Chios, his father had died. b. 1815; BRL 1824 and 1830; (C). He is reported as working at the Orphanage in Andros, presumably with Theofilos Kairis (1832) (54). In February 1834 (a resident of Syra) he sat for the qualifying examination to become a teacher. Of the nine who passed it he was the youngest and gained (with three others) the highest awarded grade. These examinations were conducted by C.L. Korck, the former agent of the Church Missionary Society, in his capacity as Director of the Normal School and Inspector General of Primary Schools (55). In July 1834, Drakakis was appointed teacher of calligraphy and practical arithmetic at the Normal School, and, in November, also to the post of assistant at the Model School attached to it. (Another ex-student of the Borough Road, G. Constantinou, was directing the Model School). He is mentioned as being a

teacher of Geography and Arithmetic in 1838 in Athens (possibly at the Model School, which had been transferred there when Athens became the capital of Greece) (56).

10. Periklis A. Raftopoulos: From Tinos, living in Athens, son of an officer, b. (1813). BRL 1824 and 1831; (C). Returned to Greece between May 1832 and May 1833. Translator to the American missionary, John Robertson (1836). Scholar (and possibly teacher) at Kairis' Orphanage at Andros (1838) (57). He wrote a number of books, among which are a translation of John Bradley's Manual of Geography, a two-volume translation of Robinson Crusoe, a primary Reader, and an Anthology of Holy Texts. It is interesting to note that after the Geography he planned to translate Richmal Magnall's Historical and Miscellaneous Questions for the Use of Young People, of which he intended to use the 13th edition (London 1817) (58). This, combined with the Geography, would suggest an orientation towards a "modern" approach to school curricula, but apparently that translation was never published. Instead he compiled his anthology of Holy Texts, and one might also detect here a change of attitude: announcing the publication (Athens, 8 May 1835), he says that he had been led to it by the realisation that too many writers prefer to deal with "dramatic writing, fiction, etc." neglecting the "best part" which is the Word of God (59). It should, however, be remembered that this apparent change of attitude

coincides with the rise in influence of the clerical element within the Greek Establishment. Regarding his contacts with English and American Societies, it is worth noting that the second edition (of the first no copy appears to survive) of his Primary Reader was published in Malta by one of the Missionary Presses in 1842. Among the subscribers to his publications one finds some of his former fellow students at Borough Road (G. Constantinou, A. Lambros, L. Drakakis, Y. Mariolakis), as well as English and American missionaries and laymen (such as R. Church, E. Dawkins, J. Hill, F. Hildner, J. Robertson, M. Gordon and J. King).

(B) Others

11. Georgios Constantinou: From Cyprus; BRL 1823. By far the most important of those who became teachers, he will be accorded more extended treatment below.

12. Dimitrios Pieridis: From Cyprus, son of Pierakis Dimitriou (or Dimitriadis), b. 1811. BRL 1832. (On the circumstances of his being sent to England and on his early stay there, see below, the notes on Constantinou with whom he came to England).

While in London Pieridis was apparently under the particular care of William Allen who "entertained him at his house for some time, to give him further instruction in scientific subjects". Allen notes in his Journal (19 July 1828): "I took Demetrius a walk round the garden with me,

and gave him some serious advice respecting his conduct in life" (60). Capodistrias having apparently expressed an interest in the boys educated at the Borough Road School, it was decided to send Pieridis back to Greece to be employed by the President. In his letter to Robert Forster (mentioned above in respect of Antonios Lambros), Capodistrias wrote:

> "Tout ce que vous me dîtes sur le jeune Pieridi me fait éprouver une bien vive impatience de le voir enfin arrive sur les lieux, afin de pouvoir utiliser les connaissances et les bons principes qu'il a puisés à votre école" (61).

Then, as with Lambros, he expressed his willingness to employ him either to direct a school or to teach at the Normal School which was to be established in Aigina. However, this letter was written when Pieridis had just reached Syra (he is reported as having arrived there on 15 September 1829). On his way to Greece he had in Corfu met F. Hildner who had given him a letter of introduction to C. L. Korck whom he joined in Syra (62). The latter, writing to the Church Missionary Society (dated Syra, 20 November 1829) records:

> "Pieridis' intention was to present himself first to his Excellency, but the Lord directed so, that he could only find in Corfu an opportunity for Syra, so he arrived here quite unexpected. He soon found himself interested in the work, and preferred to remain with me, and to take charge of the girls-school" (63).

There seems to be no evidence that Pieridis ever served directly under the Greek educational authorities.

According to Korck, his:

> "disposition and Christian character render him such a fellow labourer as I have in vain sought for in this country. It shall be my endeavour to make his stay with me as useful to himself as possible, and, because it is my principle that every teacher ought to be well acquainted with his own tongue, I shall do everything I can to perfect him in Greek. The Grammar School will afford him a fine opportunity of improving himself in this respect" (64).

In a report published in 1830, he is mentioned as being "employed (in Syra) in instructing the mistress, and the elder scholars" of the female school under the superintendance of C.L. Korck (65). When the latter resigned from his educational responsibilities in Syra, late in January 1831, he left Pieridis and Hildner (who had joined by then) in charge of the Schools. However, Pieridis left Syra about a year later: early in 1832 he is reported as having moved to his native island, Cyprus, intending to open a school there. He is believed to have started the first school in Larnaka, since by his:

> "efforts (...) a small pay school was (...) opened in Scala (Larnaka). The people, through him, saw the benefits of learning, and became desirous of possessing them. They likewise became acquainted with the character and true designs of the benevolent societies of England and America, and hence, when the American

missionaries, Messrs (William) Thomson and (Lorenzo) Pease (of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) were here (in Larnaka) in 1835 they received their proposals of aid with readiness and gratitude" (66).

Though maintaining his concern for educational matters, he later developed an interest in archaeology and numismatics, on which he published a number of articles which gained him a considerable reputation. He was constantly in contact with English visitors to Cyprus, and at times served at the English Consulate. He has been described as "an outstanding personality" of Larnaka (67).

13. Stefanos Kazanovas: From Chios. Rescued "by a French gentleman from the Turks just as he was about to be killed by them". BRL 1824 (68).

14. Nikolaos Kakouratos: From Cephalonia. BRL 1824. Private teacher in Cephalonia (March 1830) (69).

15. Efstratios Kokonaros: Trained for three months at the Borough Road School. Teacher at Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe's colony of refugees near Corinth (1830-31?). He is also reported as having worked as an interpreter (70).

iii. Evaluation

This record must be considered to be very satisfactory by any standard: of 14 boys and young men who lived to complete their long or short terms of study under the auspices of the British and Foreign School Society, it can be stated with certainty that one became a Cabinet Minister,

one a Deputy, one an Anglican Clergyman (M.A.), and at least eight Schoolmasters. In terms of a narrowly defined educational significance it might perhaps be objected that the Minister, the Deputy and the Clergyman did not fulfill the aspirations of the Society which would have hoped that all the boys would serve as teachers. It is interesting in this respect that Blaquiere mentions that Dimitrios Callifronas - who became a Priest and never went back to Greece - "when one day asked what he would do on his return to Greece, replied 'I will establish a school in my native place, Athens'." (71). But it would be difficult to carry this argument much further: whether in Greece, in Cyprus or in England, these men seem to have been successfully employed. The School Society iiself had seen the value of such a development: late in 1824 in its Appeal to the Public on the Subject of Education in Greece, on which more will be said below, the Society expressed the understanding that of the Greek boys in its care:

> "only a part are likely to be prepared for teachers, the others are destined for various employments; but their education in England (...) may have an important influence on their countrymen; not only in cementing the future friendly alliance of the two countries, but in advancing the moral improvement of Greece" (72).

A similar belief was expressed by the Westminster Review two years later:

> "Should Greece struggle safely through her present perils, they (these youths) must have

> a permanently happy influence upon her future condition" (73).

C.L. Korck, too, held the same view concerning the success of the whole endeavour, regardless of the way in which the boys would be employed: "With regard to the young Greeks, I can assure you", he wrote to the School Society from Syra in 1830:

> "they will very easily find situations, in whatever capacity they are sent back (...) Let them have as good an education as their capacities will allow. The more they know, the more useful will they be to their country" (74).

However, regarding the services which these boys were to render to the state educational system, it is interesting to note how many of them on their return to Greece maintained relations with foreign missionaries or were associated with non-governmental, progressive educational institutions for shorter or longer periods. Pieridis and Mariolakis worked in Syra with Korck and Hildner; Raftopoulos worked with Robertson and Kairis, with whom Drakakis was probably also associated; Kokonaros taught at Howe's colony; and Constantinou (as will be seen) was generally involved with missionaries and, more specifically, obtained private teaching posts with King, Howe and Korck; he was also employed by the Philanthropic Society. This seems to be a clear example of the way in which official Greek cultural policies pulled away from English influences, moving first towards an educational isolationism and then

towards German prototypes, points which will be fully discussed in the last chapter of this study.

For the successful conclusion of the training of these boys by the Society, credit should also be given to the London Greek Committee in general and in particular to Edward Blaquiere who was basically responsible for initiating the undertaking for more than half of them. However, of those nine boys who came with him on the Amfitriti it should be noticed that two were privately invited (Tombazis, Callifronas), and three more seem to have belonged to known Greek families (Rallis, Nakos, Raftopoulos). They would probably have had other chances of studying abroad under different arrangements, as was the case with young Tombazis' cousin (who went to Geneva), with Marko Botsaris' son (who eventually went to Munich), with the young Mavromichalis (who went to Paris), and with many others (75). These remarks would seem to challenge Blaquiere's statement that among "some hundred applications (which) were sent in", as soon as he had announced his intentions, he had as his object to choose "indiscriminately from every rank and without partialities of any kind." But since he was looking for boys who would possess "good moral qualities and apt dispositions for learning" it is understandable that he expected to find them easily and quickly among the more distinguished Greek families (76).

Moreover, Callifronas, son of a very old and rich

Athenian family, says in his short Memoirs that his family had lost their fortune, and that they were in a miserable state at the time of his choice by the Philomuse Society (77). And the fact that Raftopoulos on his return chose to work as a teacher (a post carrying a low salary and not much prestige) would indicate that he had no better alternative. Rallis on the other hand does not seem to have belonged to the most wealthy branch of the family. So, all in all, Blaquiere's choice appears to have been both fair and successful.

The prospects of this success became apparent from the very beginning: the Greek Committee, on meeting the boys some days after their arrival in London, were "greatly gratified with their interesting appearance, and the intelligence they seemed to possess" (78). Some months later, the School Society reported that during the end of the year examinations, in March 1825, the Greek boys read:

> "part of our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount (...) first in Romeic, their native language, and then in English. A short exercise in Spelling followed: they repeated the Ten Commandments, which, as well as the Lord's Prayer, they had committed to memory. Specimens of their writing were distributed among the company and were much admired (...) These lads (...) six months ago could neither read nor write in the English language" (79).

In 1826 it was stated that the boys "are pursuing their studies with characteristic diligence and ardour" and that "the progress they have already made is highly creditable" (80).

Blaquiere's account of the boys' progress is even more impressive when he related that he sent:

> "specimens of their writing to the (Greek) provisional government, when they had been only twenty days in the (Borough Road) School. These specimens were such as to excite the surprise of all who saw them, more especially when informed that some of the boys had never held a pen in their hands before coming to England" (81).

In a letter addressed to John Bowring in December 1824, he expressed his assurance that "there is every prospect of their making rapid progress in every useful acquirement" (82). On its side, the British and Foreign School Society expressed its satisfaction by passing at its annual meeting of 1825 the following Resolution:

> "The intelligence contained in the Report relative to Education in Greece affords much pleasure to this Meeting; (...) the state of that interesting country, to which all civilised nations are so deeply indebted, at once claims and encourages the exertions of Christian liberality; and therefore (...) this Meeting approves the measures adopted by the Committee during the past year; (...) and respectfully recommends this important object to the benevolent attention of the British public" (83).

These enthusiastic comments may well biased, but they seem to be justified in the light of the future careers of the boys who had been educated under the auspices of the Society.

However, despite the encouraging reports, and the recommendation of "this important object to the benevolent

attention of the British public", it appears that the initial enthusiasm of the sponsors of the scheme was not maintained. Already in July 1826 the Westminster Review was to notice the change and comment that:

> "It is a melancholy fact and a fact little creditable to British sympathy, that it has been impossible to raise funds in order to complete their (i.e. the Greek boys) education in an appropriate manner, so much has the interest in the well-being of Greece slackened in this country" (84).

This decline in interest must certainly have been related to a general disappointment which seems to have prevailed in Britain at the developments in Greece, as well as to the complications of the Loan and the gradual reduction of activities of the London Greek Committee. On its side, the School Society tried to face the situation by public subscriptions. To this end it issued Appeals in which it described its activities in promoting education in Greece, and the training of the Greek boys in England, at the same time dissociating itself from any political affiliations. The issue of these Appeals seems to have been combined with the establishment of an Education Committee, information about which is not plentiful enough to permit a full description of its composition and activities. It appears, however, that it was established late in 1824 mainly within the School Society, but also with connections with some members of the London Greek Committee and the Society of Friends, strengthened by the fact that William

Allen was probably its Treasurer, and Robert Forster its Secretary (85).

The first Appeal to the Public on the Subject of Education in Greece, already referred to, was issued in the name of the British and Foreign School Society late in 1824. In urging "the claim upon the public benevolence" it stressed that:

> "To secure and to perpetuate the blessings of freedom, ignorance and superstition must be suspended by knowledge, judiciously applied, and by that education which can eradicate the causes and the consequences of a devastating misrule.
>
> To England, then, (...) this interesting country turns, and implores assistance to carry forward the good work of improvement. It is our duty to answer the appeal: and it cannot but be a matter of high satisfaction to reflect that we may thus be enabled to pay to the children of Greece some portion of the debt we owe to their illustrious progenitors" (86).

Subscriptions were to be received in London, as well as in Birmingham, Bristol, Colchester. Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich and York. The appeal was extended to Belfast in January 1826 by a printed circular which included a letter by Robert Forster; it reveals the interesting point that:

> "the views of the Committee are by no means confined to that part of Greece which has thrown off the Turkish yoke. - The Ionian Islands, the Greek population of the Russian empire, and of the Porte, present a wide field for the labour of Christian benevolence; and the lessons preparing

in the Modern Greek, and other arrangements making, will be equally available for these countries, - besides which, there is at present, a standing expense in the board and maintenance of the lads brought over by Captain Blaquiere" (87).

A detailed account of the School Society's activities in the cause of education in Greece is contained in a further appeal made again in the name of this Society and entitled Education in Greece. It was printed in London in November 1829 and includes also a section with information on "Female Education". At the end it refers to the words of Jonas King (often quoted since) according to whom "Now is the moment, and perhaps the only favourable moment that may for a long time be presented to do something for Greece. (...). If something is not done soon, Greece will be lost." (88); and it concludes:

> "The Committee trust that England will never shrink from such duties, but that, grateful for her own peculiar blessings, she will rejoice at the opportunity of communicating them to others; and in this confidence they cast the claims of Greece on the liberality of their Christian friends" (89).

That King's words proved prophetic, though not through the fault of the friends of Greece, will be discussed in the last chapter of this study; it remains to complete here the picture of the School Society's activities in its efforts to promote education in Greece. These, indeed, were not restricted to the training of the boys listed earlier.

Its publications in Modern Greek have been referred to in Chapter III; further it should be noted that despite the fact that the Society was generally reluctant to make grants of money to schools in foreign countries ("money might be misapplied, material at any rate would only be lost or wasted" (90)), schools in Greece and the Ionian Islands had received cash from it. By 1831 it had reached the total of £550, in addition to substantial supplies of material (91); according to a correspondent of the Society "there was scarcely a school in Greece which had not at one time or other received assistance" from it (92).

Among its general activities the Society included the briefing of missionaries on the principles (and merits) of the Lancasterian method before their departure for their missions. It is to such a contact that the origin of a close collaboration between it and C.L. Korck of the Church Missionary Society must have been due, though there seems to be no direct information on the beginning of their relationship. Korck went to Greece late in 1827, and his activities are discussed in other parts of this study and particularly in another section of this chapter; it should, however, be mentioned here that he was one (but not the only one) of the most regular correspondents of the School Society, and his letters and reports, published occasionally in the Society's Reports (as well as in other missionary periodical publications), are now a valuable source of information for the historian of Greek education (93).

Equally valuable is a report commissioned by the Society made by G. Dickson, its agent in the Ionian Islands, at the end of a tour during which he visited many schools in Greece in 1832, though it has very little reference to policies and ideas, concentrating mainly on "facts and figures" (94). All this, however, falls beyond both the chronological and the contextual limits set for this study. As a matter of fact the Society's interest in Greek education, apart from the short period between 1823 and 1826, falls almost completely outside the framework of this survey. As already mentioned its activities seem to have been orientated primarily towards the Ionian Islands, the English rulers of which appeared to be more energetic in their support of the Society, especially after the death, early in 1824, of Sir Thomas Maitland, Lord High Commissioner of the Islands. It is characteristic in this respect that, despite the view expressed by Robert Forster, according to which, as mentioned before, the Society did not restrict its interest to the Greeks of any particular area, it seems that the decline in its concern with these Islands and with the Greeks in general coincides with the change in official English policy, which finally led to union of the Islands with Greece (95).

But, whatever the limitations, the fact remains that the British and Foreign School Society was at some stage genuinely interested in Greek education during the War of Independence, and this interest, it appears, did not

remain without response from the Greeks. This constitutes a very significant factor in the survey of foreign influences on the formation of Greek educational policies at that time. The "philosophy" represented by the Society seems to have had an important place in the spirit of these policies, and to have been absent from them very soon after the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece, as will be seen. A good and concrete example of the way in which the Society's activities have contributed to Greek education and its development is to be found in the person of one of the "boys" who had been trained in England under its auspices, Georgios Constantinou.

iv. Georgios Constantinou

Georgios Constantinou (or Constantine, later Constantinidis) was certainly the most important of the Greek teachers trained by the British and Foreign School Society, and in more favourable circumstances he might well have been very influential in the formation of educational policies in Greece. But he seems to have been too enthusiastic in his support of the Society's ideas and principles. One suspects that the silence of Greek primary and secondary sources about his activities (often his very existence) in the field of primary education is a further example of a tendency of Greek historiography to avoid mentioning those who support ideas conflicting with official policies (96). Yet the fact that Constantinou

retained his post as Head of the state Model School attached to the only existing Normal School, from its foundation in 1834 to its disbandment in 1864, would seem to be an indication both of his efficiency and of his ability to compromise.

The biographical sketch of him offered here is primarily based - for the earlier stages at least - on English sources, of which the Reports of the British and Foreign School Society consitute a considerable part.

A son of Constantinos Chatzigeorgiou, he was born in Cyprus, probably in 1807. In July 1821, following an attempt made by the Greeks in Nicosia to join the War of Independence, his father, along with other Greek primates and clergymen, was arrested by the Turks. Most of them were executed, but Constantinou's father was probably among those few who "renounced Christ to save their lives" (97). The Turks, however, had later carried away his mother and brothers, one of whom was made a Muslim by force (98). Among the primates who were killed was the father of Dimitrios Pieridis mentioned above; "all his property (was) confiscated" (99). Both these boys, Constantinou and Pieridis, were met at about that time by the Rev. Joseph Wolff, who had "studied under the Jews' Society" and had sailed as missionary to the Mediterranean "under the patronage of a liberal individual" (100). As the boys "ran the danger of being educated in Mahommedan darkness",

Wolff took them with him, "with the written consent of their mothers and the British Consul-General, and the approbation of all the European inhabitants of the island"; he intended "to send them to England where they may be educated, and sent back as missionaries" (101).

In October 1822 they were admitted to the Borough Road School of the British and Foreign School Society, where they were maintained through the interest of an anonymous gentleman from London (102); their names appear on the List of Students for 1823 (103). To Pieridis' mother, who was met in November 1823 by the American missionaries William Goodell and Isaac Bird, they "wrote that they had been treated with great kindness by British Christians — 'even' said they 'as if we had been their own children'" (104). When they arrived they knew how to read and write modern Greek and understood ancient Greek; they also knew a little Italian but "nothing of the English language" (105). However, by May 1824 the Society's Report records that they could "read (English) fluently and write correctly", and were "able to converse with propriety". At the public examination of that year "their replies to the questions proposed to them were prompt and satisfactory" (106).

Blaquiere's "boys" arrived at Borough Road in October 1824. A few months earlier, on 14 August, while Pieridis was staying behind to complete his education, Constantinou, "after having qualified for the office of Schoolmaster",

was sent to Greece, not as a missionary, as Wolff had anticipated, but "with a view to commence the establishment of schools" (107). He left England accompanied by Edward Masson, the Scottish philhellene, who was going to Greece under the auspices of the London Greek Committee with similar intentions (108). Constantinou took with him "slates and other school apparatus sufficient for 200 children", possibly the first donation of the Society to the newly-founded Greek state (109).

He arrived at Nafplion on 28 September, and on Christmas Day 1824 he had joined, probably in that town, the educational leaders of the time: the old, wise scholar, Grigorios Constantas, Eforos of Education, and Georgios Cleovoulos, the well-known teacher who had been trained in Paris and of whom more will be said later (110). This gathering may have a symbolic significance as it brought together representatives of pre-War Greek culture (in the person of Constantas) with those of French and English modern educational influences. It could also be seen as a sign that such a combination of tendencies was already becoming possible in the evolving character of Greek education.

In a letter to Robert Forster, dated Nafplion 15 April 1825, Constantinou described how the government had promised to employ him as soon as he had arrived, and had failed to do so because of the civil war which had developed in the meantime. He was, however, hoping that the matter

would be settled soon, and mentioned that he had been "repeatedly" invited (obviously by local authorities) to accept a post in other parts of the Peloponnese. He also reported that:

> "There are some schools of the Lancasterian System established on the Morea already, but they are very imperfect in the knowledge of the System. There is one at Argos (...) I have visited (that) school several times (...). I observed (to its master) how desirable it would be to have the Scripture Lessons instead of those which he used. Most lessons are on the duties of children owed to God and to mankind and a few on stories. He agreed with me and said that if he had any he would immediately put away the others and introduce those which I proposed" (111).

Soon after this, Constantinou received his first appointment; he was placed in charge of the school at Tripolitsa, where he was visited in May 1825 by Giuseppe Pecchio, the Italian philhellene (112). The post, previously occupied by the French-trained Neofytos Nikitoplos, who had moved to Athens about a year earlier, had been reported vacant, and in January 1825 the Government had shown interest in finding a suitable teacher for it (113), a matter which, as has been suggested above (page 78), would normally have fallen within Constantas' responsibilities; his meeting with Constantinou at about that time has already been mentioned. The school in Tripolitsa developed quickly and soon consisted of some 120 children. It was functioning:

> "in a mosque fitted up for that purpose, and capable of containing 400 pupils. Adjoining is a small garden, and before the vestibule a copious fountain" (114).

Constantinou reported, in his recently acquired English, that:

> "the progress which the children had made, both in reading and writing and also in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, had given a great astonishment to the people (...). About fifty of the boys, who were found competent for the fifth class when they came to the School, by the time when they left, had got to the eighth (...). The people were very much delighted with the School; they were astonished to see such good order among those boys, who were thought by others quite ungovernable. They were more astonished to see that that good order was not preserved through punishment, or reward (I have not made any use of reward-tickets, because the government would not afford any money for this purpose) but from mere pleasure" (115).

In June that year Tripolitsa was occupied by the army of Ibrahim Pasha, the school was closed, and Constantinou fled to Ydra, "waiting to see how the affairs of Greece will go", having left behind all his books and clothes, and being "in great want of money": "I have not received", he says, "a single <u>para</u> from the government, because they want that little money which they have for the soldiers and sailors who are crying for money" (116). On the basis of this information his benefactors in London sent him assistance to the extent of £10; they were, however, very disappointed, because they had received from the Greek

government (through its Deputies in London) "the promise of providing for him" (117).

Constantinou then went to Nafplion where the government proposed to establish under his care a school where he would teach the "British system to young men who will be sent to him for that purpose, from various parts of Greece" (118). This may have been the first plan to employ Constantinou in teacher training, a task he did not undertake until ten years later. As for the government, it was its second attempt to establish a school for the training of teachers; the previous idea of organising such a school in Argos had not materialised, as has been mentioned. It seems reasonable to believe, then, that the plan for the employment of Constantinou indicated the government's desire to honour its promise to the friends of education in England, and at the same time to give recognition to the reputation which Constantinou had gained for himself at Tripolitsa. It could, however, be seen also as proof of a mounting English influence in Greek education.

Nevertheless, it appears that this state school was never founded in Nafplion. In February 1826, Constantinou was appointed teacher at the school which had just been opened there by the Philanthropic Society (119). It is interesting to remember that, as mentioned before, the formation of this Society owed much to the philhellenes, and that Constantinou's appointment came at a time when Edward Masson was actively participating in its running.

A building was probably provided for the school by the government and the Society paid for the necessary repairs (120).

In April the school had 100 pupils and their number was increasing to such an extent that a new building had to be found. But the Philanthropic Society was faced with financial difficulties and this, among other things, led to the postponement of any improvement. Thus the teaching continued to be restricted to the 3 Rs (121). On the other hand, a proposition made by Georgios Gennadios, to introduce music lessons into the school, met with another kind of difficulty: "The Greek music of today has no power to soften passions", said an opponent (122). On 30 August 1826, however, the Society decided to consider the possibility of making repairs to the school-building, and an estimate was asked for a plan proposed by Constantinou (123), who in October reported that the School:

> "is going extremely well. I can refer to Mr. Masson, and to several English gentlemen, who visited the School: they were struck with astonishment, to see one hundred and sixty children in a small schoolroom, making so much progress in reading, writing and arithmetic".

The same report also reveals that Constantinou had acquired something of the missionary spirit while he stayed in England; he completes the picture of his School by saying that:

"the boys have also made great progress in the Scriptures; for besides what the monitors read every day before me, I relate to the whole of the boys one chapter of the Old Testament every afternoon, before they are dismissed. Every Saturday I examine them on these lessons, and find that they remember very well. Every Sunday I invite all these boys who wish to come, when the monitors read the Testament, and the little boys hear: afterward I explain to them the chapter which they have read, make a short address to them, and end with a prayer. I thank the Almighty God, who enables me to be useful to my countrymen: it is surely His hand, for I never expected to be able to speak so freely about the Scriptures, and meet with no opposition." (124).

At all events, the Society's difficulties had multiplied by the beginning of 1827, and its activities - if any - became very restricted. Nafplion, on the other hand, was, as mentioned, the centre of increasing internal strife, and the government had from November 1826 moved its seat to Aigina for some months; the Philanthropic Society resumed part of its work there in October 1827, and it must have been during this period that Constantinou discontinued his association with it: in November 1827, Neofytos Nikitoplos was mentioned as running the School (125).

There seems to be no trace of Georgios Constantinou's occupation between that time and June 1829, when he is reported to be in Aigina, "waiting for a school" (126). The investigation of his activities during this period is

hindered by the fact that all three family names by which he is mentioned in Greek and English sources (Constantinou, Constantine, and Constantinidis), as well as his first name are extremely common in Cyprus and Greece, making identification uncertain. However, a George Constantine was assisting Dr Samuel Gridley Howe in the distribution of American supplies in Greece towards the end of August 1827 (127), and Finlay records a George Constantinidis as being similarly employed in Aigina during that same year (128). It is likely that in both cases the person in question was the former pupil of the Borough Road School, since they concern activities involving Anglo-Saxons, and since there seems to be no record of other persons with the same name being active in Greece at the time (129).

Regarding his relationship with Howe, it should be mentioned that the latter, in a letter dated 16 June 1829, describes the school he had founded in the colony of refugees, the "Washingtonia" which he had established in Examilia, near Corinth. He says that he was "lucky enough to find (for his school) a young Greek who had obtained a good knowledge of the Lancasterian System at the Borough Road School in England"; the teacher had accepted the post because he was "in distressed circumstances" and had since organised "a snug little school with thirty-five pupils"; but in place of the teacher's name a blank is left in the published text (130). If the omission belongs

to the original manuscript it would seem unlikely that the teacher in question was Constantinou, especially in view of his possible earlier association with Howe mentioned above. Indeed, in the School Society's Report of 1831 another of the Greek pupils of Borough Road School, Efstratios Kokonaros, is reported as having "a school of 30 boys under the American agents, who are forming a colony for Greek refugees, in the Isthmus of Corinth" (131). The information obviously relates to some time before its publication, and could well coincide with the period when Howe's letter was written and when Constantinou, as mentioned, was in Aigina. The latter, however, did also work "with the Americans in Corinth", according to the School Society's Report of 1832 which bears no mention of Kokonaros (132).

Georgios Constantinou is then mentioned explicitly in the School Society's Report of 1833 as working with Jonas King in Athens, and he was visited there by G. Dickson in July of that year during his tour of Greece commissioned by the Society; the school then had 75 boys (133). King had founded the Evangelical Gymnasium of Athens in May 1831, and had also employed Neofytos Nikitoplos, as will be seen in the following pages. There seems to be no evidence of the time when Constantinou was appointed, nor of the later movements of Nikitoplos. At all events, Georgios Constantinou is mentioned as head of the Elementary School attached to the Gymnasium, in its "Plan" published in the Athena on

21 September 1833 (134).

A few months later, on 6 February 1834, the government eatablished a Normal School in Nafplion; C.L. Korck, the former agent of the Church Missionary Society, was appointed as its head, and Georgios Constantinou (by then he had changed his name to Constantinidis) as director of the Model School attached to it (135). These appointments - the former lasted only for twenty months - will be discussed in the last chapter, but it should be mentioned here that they could be considered as the most important, but also the last, attempt to introduce the English spirit into Greek education.

Constantinou also taught at the Normal School, and, as already mentioned, kept his post for thirty years, up to the closure of the School in 1864. His loyalty to English educational principles in general and to the British and Foreign School Society in particular is expressed by his regular correspondence with the latter, and by his publications. While in 1825 he was waiting for his first appointment, he reported that he was studying ancient Greek (which all boys who returned from England had to learn in order to qualify as teachers), and was reading among other works Oliver Goldsmith's History of Greece, and Philip Doddridge's The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul (136). To some extent his publications reflect his reading as well as the text books he must have

studied while in England: he translated Henry Dunn's Normal School Manual, compiled a study on the development of ideas according to Pestalozzi's principles (which he says derived from G. Mayo's manual), and produces several Primary Readers. Despite the difficulties of indentification which were mentioned above, it is possible that he was also the translator of some religious tracts published by the missionary presses, such as The Two Sheep, and Thomas Day's The History of Little Jack.

It is, however, difficult to draw any conclusions as to his ideas and tendencies from these publications, since those which might better reflect his character, the school manuals, owe little to their writer and much to the state regulations according to which they had to be written. On the other hand, relatively little light is shed on his character by the surviving letters and reports sent by him to the School Society and his benefactors in England. (Most of these documents were apparently destroyed during the Second World War together with the archives of the Society.) They are reported to have continued up to 1870 (137), and one would assume that those printed in the Society's and other Reports constitute only a fraction of them. It may also be that the published documents are themselves incomplete since the lack in most cases of any personal comments would suggest that only "facts and figures" have been used.

Constantinou's interest was not restricted to Greece. As he says himself, he had also "paid some attention" to his native island, Cyprus. He sent books, and trained teachers who took up posts there (138). He is also reported to have trained one of his brothers as a teacher (he had been reunited with his family in Athens in 1836) who later taught in Alexandria and in Greece (139). So the young slave from Cyprus developed into a "high-minded and straightforward teacher" (140), became an active propagator of English principles in Greek education, and could certainly have been more influential had Greece been less strongly subjected to German influences from the early 1830s onwards.

b. Missionary Societies

i. General Concern

Some years before the outbreak of the War of Independence the English Protestant missionary societies, along with their American counterparts, encouraged by changes in the international political scene, increased their interest in the Mediterranean area (1). They were generally inspired by a desire to convert the peoples of Islam, and to "save" the adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church from their "ignorance" and "superstition". From this viewpoint their first concerns were the establishment of branches in the Levant, the translation of the Bible into the various vernaculars, and the preparation, printing and distribution of religious tracts. Educational activity in respect of the Greeks does not seem to have been among their primary objectives until after the War had caused disaster and suffering, and the concepts of evangelism, philanthropy and philhellenism almost became identical in the minds of the Christians of the West. Admiration of ancient Greek achievements, as well as the place held by Greece in the history of Christianity, also contributed to the arousing of their interest, a motivation which they had in common with various other agencies and individuals to be discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

On the other hand, in accordance with the basic

principles of Protestantism, the spreading of literacy in Greece, as in other places, was considered to be a first and indispensable step towards the proper direct contact of the people with the Holy Texts (2). However, even before any such efforts were begun, thousands of Bibles and tracts were distributed among the Greeks by the agents of various religious societies; they were eagerly received, even bought by all classes of people (3). This activity, however, was initially secondary to clearly philanthropic actions such as the rescue of Greek refugees undertaken by various agencies. Of these attempts the French and American will be discussed in the next section, while mention must be made here of the efforts in this field of the Society of Friends, not only because this body spent considerable amounts of money in this enterprise, but also because this was only the beginning of a more general, though less direct, involvement of the Society in matters related to the promotion of education in Greece. Indeed, as early as January 1824 Leicester Stanhope was to express the need for such a change:

> "I hope that the Quakers will now begin to apply their funds to the promotion of education, the establishment of dispensaries, etc. in Greece. Their aid is much wanted, and it will be most usefully and effectually applied in the country itself. We should limit our charities to acts of wide-spreading and permanent utility. All our exertions must otherwise be comparatively insignificant. Some of the unfortunate Greeks,

> whom the Quakers, with such laudable intentions sent home, are now pining in want, and contributing to create further distress. I am surprised that this does not occur to their excellent understandings" (4).

That this view was not held by everybody in England will become apparant later, but it is interesting to note that soon after this William Allen, the very active Secretary of the Society of Friends, whose interest in Greek education has been discussed earlier, wrote to the Greek Deputies in London that he would assist the Greeks to educate their children:

> "Si vous voulez dépendre seulement sur nous pour l'éducation de vos jeunes gens, nous vous mettrons en état d'élever tous les enfants de la Grèce, même les plus pauvres, à des frais très modérés" (5).

Allen was, of course, referring to the Lancasterian method of instruction, and to the possibilities offered by the British and Foreign School Society of which he was, as mentioned, the Treasurer. But the attitude expressed in that letter clearly indicated a change of policy towards the Greeks; Stanhope's opinion on the matter may well have contributed to it, together with other factors. It should be noted, further, that at about that time the "philanthropic" efforts of the Society of Friends towards Greece were declining, while the School Society was becoming increasingly involved in Greek education. This new orientation is also indicated by the counsel given by

Robert Forster, the other Quaker who, too, was concerned with the School Society's work, to Georgios Constantinou when the latter was faced with difficulties during his early months in Greece:

> "I would have thee keep thyself devoted to the one grand object, the education of thy countrymen. If driven from one place, pursue it in another. If thou canst not collect children by hundreds, be satisfied with tens or twenties" (6).

No evidence appears, however, to exist of any direct involvement of the Society of Friends in educational affairs related to Greece, beyond its share in those of the School Society.

The London Missionary Society, on the other hand, developed activities of considerable importance in organising education for Greek children. But this was generally confined to the Ionian Islands where one of its agents, Isaak Lowndes, was even given official responsibilities by the British authorities, in the running of schools, and it could have had only an indirect effect on attitudes adopted towards the matter by the Greek central government. Here again it was the Lancasterian method that was widely applied and this must have helped in raising its reputation among the Greeks. It was, however, through its publications, discussed in Chapter III above, that the London Missionary Society had its most direct and important impact on Greek education. This

undertaking, shared with some other foreign agencies, became more directly orientated towards educational matters soon after the beginning of the War of Independence. But despite this indication that education was then placed high in the missionary programmes for the area, the first Protestant missionary school within the newly established Greek state was not founded before the end of 1827, by an agent of an American Mission (7). Once started, however, these publications must have increased the spread of new teaching methods in Greece, encouraging at the same time her inhabitants' natural inclination towards education. On the other hand, it now appears clear that this activity of the missionaries, by the reaction which it eventually provoked, contributed also to a clarification of tendenciies in Greek education, and possibly to the speeding up of the final ascendancy of its more traditionalist elements.

Regardless of this later development, however, English and American missionaries were at the beginning generally warmly welcomed in Greece. Rather than being identified with alien sects of the Christian faith, they were probably considered as being no different from the various foreigners who were wandering around the country, if not as representatives of their respective governments. The line was then drawn between Christians and non-Christians, or, on different grounds, between Greeks and foreigners, not between Protestants and Orthodox. As Christians, then, and

as coming from countries towards which Greek hopes of help were directed, the missionaries were well received, especially since, unlike many other visitors to the country, they appeared to have at their disposal funds to spend.

But among the English religious agencies active in the Mediterranean at the time, it is the Church Missionary Society that appears to have developed the greatest interest in Education, and it deserves particular consideration, as does one of its most active agents, C.L. Korck, to whom frequent reference is made also in other parts of this study.

ii. <u>The Church Missionary Society and C.L. Korck</u>

As early as 1815 the Rev. William Jowett, the "literary representative" of the Church Missionary Society, embarked on a long voyage in the Levant. It took him to such centres of Greek culture and education as Smyrna, Kydonies and Chios. But neither his report to the Society, nor his <u>Christian Researches</u> published in 1822, with a detailed account of his journey, resulted in any immediate action being taken by it towards getting involved in educational activities in Greece. Together with the distressing news of the War, however, his writings must have contributed to the increased interest apparently shown by the Society in the affairs of Greece (8). Yet, in 1824 there was still no indication of any plans by the Society for the establishment

of schools in Greece: at its annual meeting that year its Committee reported that they were only:

> "availing themselves of the powerful influence of the Press, to aid in that diffusion of sound knowledge and religious truth, which will be mainly instrumental in restoring the people of Greece to their rank among enlightened nations" (9).

This is also a further example of the fact that confinement to publications appears to have been common among the societies whenever other activities were hindered by conditions in Greece (10).

Indeed, it was not until early in January 1828 that an agent of the Church Missionary Society, Christian Ludwig Korck, became actively involved in educational matters in the newly established Greek state. Although from a strictly chronological point of view this involvement of his covered only a small part of the period examined here, both his personality and his career in Greece are of particular significance in this attempt to establish the character of foreign contributions to Greek educational policy when it was being formulated, as well as of their subsequent development (11).

Christian Ludwig Korck, a Doctor of Medicine, from Bremen, and a former student of the Missionary Institution at Basle, arrived, aged 26, at the Church Society's Institution in Islington on 10 December 1826. He was admitted to Deacon's Orders in March 1827 and to Priest's

Orders the following June when, having been appointed to the Mediterranean Mission he sailed for Malta. After a short stay there he moved to Smyrna where he arrived on 26 August 1827 (12). It was there, as he was recovering from a severe illness, that he first expressed his interest in education. In a letter addressed to W. Jowett (14 December 1827) he asks:

> "What are your ideas on school-establishments? (...) Schools will always require pecuniary exertions on our side. What authority have I in this respect?" (13).

At that time he was learning Turkish, and there seems to be no indication of his being motivated by any "philhellenic" sentiments, or indeed of his planning to settle in Greece. However, within a month he had gone to Aigina, where he is reported to have contributed to a collection on behalf of the orphanage which Theofilos Kairis was planning to establish in Andros (14). As mentioned on page 110 he soon came in contact with both the Philomuse and the Philanthropic Societies in an apparently unsuccessful effort to extend the educational activities of the latter. In April he moved to Syra and took over the school established in Ermoupolis by Josiah Brewer, the American Missionary (15). Under Korck's superintendence the school flourished, and he seems to have devoted himslef entirely to education for many years after.

The more important aspects of his educational career

in Greece are discussed in Chapter VI below. What should be stressed here is that among the many agents of English and American Societies who were engaged in education during the 1830's in Greece, only Korck was ever formally employed by the government. This, however, was after his relationship with the Church Missionary Society had been broken, in July 1831, because, following the hostility shown towards his work by some authorities in Syra, it had recommended that he should move to Corfu. This, for reasons apparently unknown, Korck did not agree to do. He went instead to Chalkis where he established another school (16). He then moved to Athens until his appointment in 1834 to the Normal School in Nafplion already referred to. After his dismissal from that post he was for a short time employed as translator by the Church Missionary Society in Syra, and then settled in Athens, where he died in April 1842 (17).

His views on education, which, in the present context, gain considerable importance since for a moment the possibility existed of his exercising a strong influence on the formulation of the official Greek educational policy, are revealed in his various communications to the Church Missionary Society and other agencies. Many have been printed in the Missionary Register and similar periodical publications. He appears to have been broad-minded in his consideration of educational objectives in Greece, and

fairly liberal in his approach to the matter. He believed that "a friend of the Gospel in Greece must be a supporter of general knowledge", and that "the welfare of Greece must depend, under God, on good education" (18). Thus, considering the possibilities of "the co-operation of Christians in England" he recommended the following measures to be taken in Greece:

"1. The establishment of schools of mutual instruction.
2. The preparation of schoolmasters.
3. The placing of the common schools on a better footing.
4. The support of orphan institutions.
5. The providing of young men of talent and piety the means of obtaining a good education.
6. The establishment, for this end, of an Academy (i.e. University) in Greece.
7. The formation of a library, to consist of the best works on all branches of knowledge.
8. The translation of such works as are best suited for the present and future wants of Greece." (19).

This scheme may not appear to be comprehensive enough, and one would immediately notice the gap between the common (i.e. primary) schools and the Academy, where an intermediate stage seems to be missing. But it should be remembered that Korck in this instance was not submitting a plan for the organisation of the educational system of Greece, and that according to some observers secondary education was better provided for (privately) in Greece

at the time than primary education. His contemplation of the establishment of a University should be underlined here and seen as contrasting with policies adopted by President Capodistrias then ruling in Greece, which are discussed in Chapter VI below. Moreover, Korck, hoped that actions such as these which he proposed would encourage benefactors abroad to offer their assistance - a view which, as has been mentioned, was commonly held. In the letter by which he announced to President Capodistrias his proposals for the organisation of the educational activities of the Philanthropic Society, Korck observed:

> "C'est pour plaider pour la Grèce auprès des amis de l'éducation et du Christianisme tant dans l'Angleterre, qu'en Allemagne, la Suisse et la France, que je désire surtout de voir des Grecs se réunir sur un plan règlè pour cet important objet; et j'ai la grande satisfaction de connoître plusieurs entre eux, qui n'attendent que le moment favorable pour devenir plus actifs" (20).

In this evaluation of his ideas about education, it should not be forgotten that Korck, being a missionary, was primarily interested in spreading the Word of God, and that education was for him,as for the Societies in general and their agents, above all a means towards that end. Indeed, in announcing to his Society in London his plans for the Philanthropic Society he stressed among the few points he mentions, that he "proposed it as a fundamental law of the (Philanthropic) Society, that the

Holy Scriptures shall be introduced into all its schools" (21). It is probable that what determined him to stay in Greece was his realisation that she was "the most promising field for Christian exertions" (22). Another reason for the promotion of education by the missionaries was the conviction (to which reference is also made in Chapter VI) that it would counter the dangers of infidelity to which Greece was exposed. Korck shared this belief: "I will only direct your mind" he wrote to his Society,

> "to the importance of Greece through its political situation for the cause of the Kingdom of Christ. It lies between Rome and Turkey, in the very heart of the two Antichrists" (23).

A further point which should be mentioned in this context is that on 5 May 1830 he was married to Maria Filalithis, a member of a Constantinople family (24). Her father, Constantinos, was probably the former private secretary (Pacharnikos) of Prince Ioannis Karatzas, the Phanariot hospodar of Wallachia, who was renowned for his interest in the arts and letters, anf for the support he gave to them. Although there seems to be no indication of the effect of this relationship on Korck's attitudes towards the main issues which concerned the educational authorities and the cultural leaders in Greece at that time, his association with the Phanariot element in Greek

society may have given him a better insight into Greek problems.

Little light is shed on his general ideas by what is known about his intentions and actions for the short time that he served as Director of the Normal School. Information on this is particularly scarce. Greek sources appear to be relatively scanty regarding his ideas and actions, probably because of the strong criticism aroused by his appointment. He is, however, reported as planning to establish schools "at Argos, Tripolitsa, and some other places" where he intended to use school books published by the missionary presses (25). There is also vagueness as to the method of instruction which he advocated: it was "a mixture of the Lancasterian and Prussian" methods, introducing a form of "simultaneous" teaching (26). Earlier he had announced that he was preparing a Greek translation of a "Manual for the Girls' School"; in September 1829 he said that he hoped to send it to the Malta Press, since he had "nearly finished it", but there seems to be no evidence of its ever having been printed (27). All in all he seems to have been keen and dedicated to his task, and his work was appreciated not only by his fellow-agents of the Church Missionary Society, but by other observers as well, such as Rev. J. Hill of the American Episcopal Church, who refers to his as a "missionary of greater experience than any in the

Mediterranean" (28).

While in Syra, Korck was assisted by another agent of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Friedrich August Hildner, to whom reference has already been made, a Prussian who had also been a student at the Missionary Institution at Basle. A "Missionary Society for Greece" was founded there probably late in 1826; Hildner apparently joined it and he was one of the two missionaries whom it sent to Corfu (29). There they "occupied themselves in acquiring the necessary facility in the language"; in October 1827 they reported that "they could converse tolerably well in Modern Greek and had entered on Italian" (30). However, in January 1829 it was announced that they had discontinued their relationship with the Society because they did not find its "character and objects (...) congenial with their feelings and wishes as religious missionaries"; Hildner "was supporting himself in Corfu by teaching such Greeks as wished to learn". He was said to be:

> "very usefully employed in labouring among Greeks, Germans and Jews. He has a truly missionary spirit; and is well qualified to labour among the Greeks, as he knowns their language and is peculiarly apt to teach" (31).

In July that year he had joined the Church Missionary Society "with particular reference to Greece" and was helping Isaak Lowndes of the London Missionary Society in the running of his schools in Corfu, and "especially in

grafting a part of the Pestalozzian system on that of Mutual Instruction"; he also worked as translator from English and German into Greek (32). Hildner joined C.L. Korck in Syra in December 1829 (33), and after the latter's withdrawal, about a year later, he undertook full responsibility for the missionary educational establishments there, assisted for a time, as mentioned, by Dimitrios Pieridis, the former pupil of the Borough Road School. He was married in Syra in March 1832, to a German, Carolina Damm, to whom apparently he was engaged before coming to Greece (34).

This information does not allow a better knowledge of his character, and his correspondence to the Church Missionary Society is mostly concerned with facts and reveals little of his attitude towards more general issues. Two of his Addresses which were apparently printed between 1831 and 1832 and may have contained some more interesting information in this respect seem to be still missing (35).

A few more points regarding Hildner's later activities in Greece are to be found in Chapter VI below, but it should be noted here that under his superintendence the Missionary School in Syra (known as the Paedagogeion, or American or Philhellenic School) flourished for many years. At the peak of its development it was divided into sections for boys and girls. Each consisted of three grades - Higher, Middle and Infants - the total number of pupils rising well above 600. Some of the pupils of the School

went on to teach in other parts of Greece (36). All this, together with C.L. Korck's earlier efforts, must have contributed an additional characteristic to Syra, which, helped by its flourishing commerce and its relatively prosperous Roman Catholic community was rapidly acquiring a "European" aspect. Even if only indirectly, and despite difficulties with which the Schools were occasionally faced (reference to these will be made in the following pages), this surely demonstrated to the Greeks the value of some educational ideas and practices more common in Europe than in Greece.

c. French and American involvements

It was not only the British who expressed an interest in Greek education during the War of Independence. Considerable concern in the matter was also shown by French and American individuals and societies, while the non-military assistance offered by other countries was mainly confined to the shipment of goods or to financial aid. This, for instance, was the case of the Swiss millionaire, Jean-Gabriel Eynard, who, among other donations, made contributions towards educational projects during the Capodistrian era; but in this he did not seem to aim at any specific political targets to be reached through education. "It is sufficient for me," he is reported as having observed, "that the government of Greece is national and Christian, that the Greeks cease to be under the yoke of Mussulman tyranny" (1).

The Bavarians, too, had at one stage occupied themselves with the idea of the education of Greek boys. Although the scheme was supported by the King of Bavaria, Ludwig I, himself, and promoted by the efforts of the eminent classical scholar, Friedrich Wilhelm von Thiersch, it does not appear to have gone beyond an interest in individual cases (2). Moreover, the direct association of the Bavarians with Greek administration, at a later date, and particularly in the organisation of the Greek educational system, puts the whole issue of these earlier,

more restricted, activities into a different perspective, placing it beyond the limits of this study.

i. French Societies

The various French agencies that developed an interest in helping Greece during the War of Independence fall into two categories: those who existed before and simply extended their activities to cover Greece, such as the Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire, and the Société de la Morale Chrétienne, and those that were established for this particular purpose, such as the Société Philanthropique en Faveur des Grecs. They were all involved at one stage or other in assisting young Greeks in France, but on the whole they saw this as a philanthropic gesture, stimulated by feelings similar to those of the other countries mentioned above; their motives were reminiscent of Gabriel Eynard, rather than of Edward Blaquiere, William Allen or the British and Foreign School Society, who considered their help as part of the general effort to organise the new nation and educate its inhabitants to become free citizens. This may over-simplify their aspirations, but there seems to be no evidence that the French Societies, apart from desiring the benefits which would accrue to the Greek nation from the education of some of its members, were directly interested in the establishment of schools or the

organisation of an educational system.

However, the Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire (the broader aims and characteristics of which have been mentioned in the previous chapter of this study) did contribute directly to the development of education in Greece. Its more specific relations with that country had started some years before the War of Independence and were expressed through its training of Greek teachers in the mutual method of instruction. In their motives, as in those of so many others, there was, of course, an emotional, romantic element. Every assistance rendered to the contemporary Greeks was regarded as a repayment of an old debt: by helping them "l'Europe reconnaissante reporte l'instruction à son berceau" (3); and later, when material was being sent out for the Greek schools, France congratulated herself because:

> "nos arts, nos connaissances, retournent dans cette Grèce qui la première alluma en Europe le flambeau des connaissances et des arts" (4).

It is interesting to observe in the present context that a few years earlier the Journal d'Education, the periodical publication of the Société, had included a note according to which the origins of the mutual method of instruction could be traced back to ancient Sparta and medieval Athens (5).

The first Greeks to be educated under the auspices of the Société appear to have been the three who were

reported in 1818 as following, "comme amateurs", lessons at its Normal School in Paris (6). Their names are not recorded, but one of them was most probably Georgios Cleovoulos, who soon after became one of the most active propagators of the Lancasterian method among the Greek-speaking peoples. The others could have been Athanasios Politis, the chemist from Lefkas, and Neofytos Nikitoplos from Dimitsana, for there is evidence that they had studied the method in Paris at about that time. But apart from Cleovoulos, there seems to be no indication of their having been at an institution of the Société, nor of their having met in Paris.

Cleovoulos was studying in Paris at the expense of N. Rosetti-Roznovanu, the man of letters and high-ranking administrator of Moldavia, who a year later financed the publication of Cleovoulos' Tables of the Mutual Method which were printed in Paris in 1819 (7). He submitted them to the Société whose Comite des Methodes praised their quality highly (8). For this work, and for his general contribution to the propagation of the method, Cleovoulos was awarded in 1820 the Silver Medal of the Société (9). However, his influence on the formulation of educational policies in Greece during the years under review here was only indirectly felt. While, through the publication of his Tables and his other writings, as well as through his training of Greek teachers in the school

which he opened at Jassy after his return from Western Europe, he undoubtedly contributed much to the improvement of education in Greece, he went to the liberated part of the country only at the end of 1824. Even then, although he was closely associated with Grigorios Constantas, the Eforos of education, most of his time was spent in private teaching in Syra until his death in 1828.

In 1825 the Société assisted two Greek sisters, whose husbands had been killed in Chios, and who wanted to learn in Paris the principles of the mutual method as well as sewing, planning to return later to Greece and work as teachers (10). There is, however, no indication of their later fate. Four other Greek teachers were trained at a Normal School supported by the Société in 1829, that is, just after the period under consideration here. At least three returned to Greece, and one, P. Manakidis, was for a short time employed in teacher training in Aigina, but was very severely criticised by the education officials of the time, and is also mentioned with contempt by the government's opponents. There is no evidence that any of them ever took part in educational policy-making in Greece (11). Ioannis Kokkonis, another Greek teacher who was in France between 1824 and 1829, says that he studied the mutual method under Louis-Charles Sarazin (12), director of a Normal School in Paris, but there is no evidence of Kokkonis' having any contact with the Société;

the role later played by Kokkonis in Greek education is discussed in Chapter VI of this study.

In 1825 the Société reorganised its Comité des Ecoles Etrangères and considered a more rational network of local agents than it had had up to that year. The agents proposed for Greece were mostly among those who have been mentioned in this study as expressing "progressive", European tendencies in Greek politics and education: the Phanariot, Alexandros Mavrokordatos, the former student of the Borough Road School, Georgios Constantinou, and the French-trained teacher Georgios Cleovoulos. The proposal also included Georgios Spaniolakis, the "anglophile" Greek agent in London, and the Italian philhellene, Giuseppe Pecchio, whose interest in Greek education has already been referred to (13). The Société also entered into contact with the Philomuse Society of Athens, and the Journal d'Education as well as the Bulletin de la Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire, which later replaced it, repeatedly included information about developments in Greek education (14). Again in 1825 the Société decided on the first shipment of educational material to Greece; it included, among other things, books 'on girls' education, on the teaching of music, arithmetic etc. (15).

In its activities regarding Greece, the Société pour l'Instruction collaborated closely with the Sociéte

Philanthropique en Faveur des Grecs of Paris, founded in January 1825. The primary aim of the latter was:

> "de proposer au gouvernement grec et à ses principaux chefs (...) de se charger de faire donner à leurs fils, à Paris, l'education la plus distinguée",

and to help in the education of other Greek children (16). Indeed, among the thirteen boys who studied in France under the auspices of the Société Philanthropique are the sons of such eminent figures of the War as Kanaris, Negris, Tsamados, Mavromichalis and Apostolis (17). But of all these only Grigorios Palaiologos seems to have been involved in a form of educational activity, when he returned to Greece in 1830: he was employed by Capodistrias in organising and directing an agricultural school in Tiryns (18). The Société Philanthropique, however, soon directed its energies to the field of organising the shipment of relief supplies to Greece, and also became involved in political controversies through its agent in Greece, General Roche (19). Nevertheless, its collaboration with the Société de l'Instruction became closer again in 1830 when Tables for the mutual method of instruction were prepared and printed in Modern Greek (20).

On the other hand, the Société de la Morale Chrétienne, founded in 1821 in Paris, soon took an interest in Greece; it was engaged mainly in organising the return of Greeks who had fled to Western Europe soon after the outbreak of

the War (21). Its motives were again humanitarian rather than educational or political, and its inspiration similar to that of the Société de l'Instruction. In announcing its determination to help the Greek refugees in 1823 it declared that:

> "nous ne pourrons jamais désavouer devant Dieu que nous n'ayons aux Grecs une obligation plus grande encore (than we have to all those in distress) puisque nous leurs devons les lumières de l'Evangile" (22).

To promote this work a Comité Grec was established within the Société de la Morale Chrétienne. By the end of 1829 it could claim to have contributed to the recsuing of some 700-800 Greek slaves from Alexandria and Cairo, as well as to the repatriation of a number of refugees mainly from Odessa (23), but apart from assistance offered to some individual Greek students in Paris, there seems to be no record of any more direct involvement in matters related to Greek education.

It should, however, be mentioned that the three groups discussed here had in common a considerable number of their most active members. Among these special mention should be made of Marc-Antoine Jullien, the "father of Comparative Education", and principal contributor to the Revue Encyclopédique which expressed lively interest in Greek matters during the War of Independence (24). This overlapping of membership would suggest that each branch

of their activities directed towards the Greeks was undertaken by the agency most suitable for the purpose. But on the whole, as has been mentioned, their approach appears to have been basically philanthropic, and to a lesser extent "philhellenic" in the sense of offering assistance for the establishment of a self-governing free state.

ii. Henri-Auguste Dutrône

Another member of both the Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire and the Société de la Morale Chrétienne was Henri-Auguste Dutrône. Although he is mentioned by most writers concerned with Greek education of the time, there seems to be some vagueness about his personality and the role he played during the relatively few months that he stayed in Greece. This vagueness and an ambiguity as to his opinion about Capodistrias' policies in education are discussed in Chapter VI of the present study. It is fitting, however, to consider here his personality and activities, especially since he is one of the very few philhellenes really interested in education, and perhaps the only Frenchman to be so to such an extent.

Docteur en droit and a lawyer in Paris, H.-A. Dutrône had been accused in July 1826 of being involved in the burning in Marseilles of the frigate Amazone which was being built there for the Egyptian fleet (25). This action,

most probably motivated by "philhellenic" feelings, was followed a few months later by a duel which he fought with General de Livron, who was in the service of Mehmet-Ali of Egypt (26). Probably by these actions, and by his association with progressive elements in French politics (he was a close friend of Hippolyte Carnot) he gained the reputation of being "bien connu pour son charactère turbulent et ses opinions révolution-naires", or "une chaude tête républicaine" and of appearing "très monté contre toute espèce de despotisme" (27). Having determined to go to Greece, he visited Jean-Gabriel Eynard in Geneva. Eynard did not know him personally but met him of the recommendation of some of his fellow-members of the Société Philanthropique en Faveur des Grecs and gave him a letter of introduction to President Capodistrias (28). According to this letter, Dutrône's sole desire was to be useful to Greece, and questioned by the police (who apparently since the incident of the frigate were keeping a close eye on him), he declared that he was eager to get to Greece in time for the new organisation of the country in which he hoped to play a role (29).

Taking with him books on legislation, agriculture, art, the sciences, etc., he left from Toulon early in January 1828 for Greece (30). On 9 February we find him in Aigina among the first depositors of the National

Bank (31), which, in addition to the fact that he himself covered the expenses of his journey, indicates that he was relatively wealthy. A day later, he addressed the Greeks in a long letter published in the Greek General Gazette. He does not yet seem determined to restrict himself to educational matters: he promises a report on the cultivation of potatoes (a project favoured by Capodistrias), and speaks of the necessity of the Greeks intensifying their military effort and promoting trade:

> "If you do not gain the confidence of those (civilised nations) you will never be able to reach happiness, nor perhaps gain the strength which is necessary to avoid the yoke which oppressed you, or another similar one."

Moreover, he suggests that "among the many needs which press upon you from everywhere, the most urgent is certainly to learn foreign languages"; for this he proposed to offer free lessons in French to children between 10 and 15 years of age. These would be followed by the teaching of arithmetic and geography, all conducted according to the mutual method of instruction (32). There seems to be no evidence of his having ever fulfilled any of these promises, but he was soon employed by Capodistrias in connection with education. He calls himself Secretaire particulier of the President (33), but he was also awarded the grade of Capitaine de l'Etat-Major (34). His involvement in education required of him an extensive

inspection of schools which he undertook and on which he wrote a long report, the compilation of a plan for the organisation of schools of mutual instruction in the army, on which he published a pamphlet in French, contacts with the Société pour l'Instruction Elementaire, which led to the acquisition of French material for the schools and his appointment to a special committee for the revision of spelling cards and books used in the Lancasterian schools (discussed in Chapter VI of this study) (35). But this involvement did not last for long. Though there seems to be no evidence of any direct confrontation with Capodistrias, there are indications that Dütrône very soon (perhaps as early as April 1828) came to disagree with the President's policies (36). In July 1830 he was formally discharged from his post as personal adviser to Capodistrias, and in October he was back in France (37). There he published his Extraits de la Correspondance de M. Dutrône avec M. le President Capodistrias (38).

Dutrône's interest in education was, however, maintained even after his departure from Greece: soon after his return to France, in collaboration with H. Carnot, he submitted to the Minister of the Interior an interesting plan for the organisation of a vast establishment of public instruction in Versailles (39), and in 1834 he prepared a Report on education in Algiers (40). But there is no indication of his having again been interested in Greece.

iii. American influences

Despite the early interest shown in the United States of America in the course of the Greek War of Independence, and the admiration which, as already mentioned, some Greek intellectual leaders had expressed for the Americans, influences in education from that country and for the period under review seem to have been minimal (41). Indeed, the first school to be founded by Americans in Greece was opened only in 1828, and then was very soon handed over to the agents of the Church Missionary Society. Still later, there was intensified activity by Americans in this field, which belongs to the content of the last chapter of the present study. The only other American activity which should be mentioned here is the one related to the education of Greek boys in the United States. But again, like the French and unlike the British efforts, American help did not aim at assisting the new state to organise its educational system, but was rather directed towards individual cases.

Stephen A. Larrabee, in his comprehensive survey of American experiences of Greece, Hellas Observed, calculates that "about forty young men and women (...) arrived in America during and shortly after the Revolution" (42). Approximately half of them were sent over during the period reviewed here, mostly through the care of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and its agents.

They were refugees, mainly from Chios and Constantinople, and had come to the notice of the missionaries in Malta where they had fled when the War affected their towns and villages (43). It was, however, expected that they would return and:

> "exert, in future years, a strong regenerating influence upon the civil, literary and moral character of the interesting people to which they belong" (44).

Some boys did eventually return, and some distinguished themselves in the fields in which they were active. Among them mention should be made of Evangelinos Apostolidis Sofoklis, who became professor at Harvard College and published an interesting Romaic Grammar and a dictionary of Byzantine Greek; and of Grigorios Perdikaris, who was appointed American Consul in Athens (45). Others were more directly involved in education: Anastasios Karavellis, one of the first to arrive in America, was apparently the only one who returned to Greece, in 1833, to be employed in education; he worked not at a state school, but with Jonas King in Athens (46). Alexandros Paspatis also returned at about the same time to serve in a Greek school run by American missionaries, but that was in Constantinople (47). Others, like Nikolaos Petrokokkinos (who in 1843 was given the editorship of the American missionary magazine, Useful Knowledge), worked with the presses in Malta and Smyrna (48).

This record can be favourably compared with the result of the similar effort of the British and Foreign School Society described before only if considered independently of its relevance to the formulation of educational tendencies. There is, indeed, no indication that the American Board had aimed particularly at preparing teachers for Greece, but even so, the boys trained in America did not play any role even remotely comparable to that of the former scholars of the Borough Road School, although they seem to have contributed to the maintenance of good Greco-American relations. It seems, moreover, that the realisation of the whole scheme had been attended by difficulties. Together with some Armenian boys the Greek pupils were to be educated at the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Conn. which had been founded in 1816 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (49). However, when the Greek boys arrived from 1823 onwards:

> "this class was not found to mingle happily with the other pupils" (50).

The Mission School was closed in 1826 and:

> "The experiment was continued in another form, for a time, by placing several Greek and Armenian youths in academies and colleges. The experience proved so unsatisfactory in the end, that all thought of educating foreign youth in this country was abandoned" (51).

In fact it was decided that "a native agency must be trained in the country where it is to be employed" (52).

This realisation must have been one of the reasons which led the Board to the decision to investigate the possibilities of educational activity in Greece and to send out for this purpose the Rev. Rufus Anderson. His visit to Greece and his meetings with President Capodistrias are discussed in Chapter VI of this study, but it should be mentioned here that he and his companion, the Rev. Eli Smith:

> "never forgot that (they) were sent to Greece to explore not ancient but modern Greece, and that (their) inquiries were to be directed not so much to its natural, as to its moral features" (53).

Also in ChapterVI some more concrete American efforts to promote education in Greece are described, and activities in the field of preparation, printing and circulation of school textbooks are discussed in Chapter III of this study. It should, however, be noted here that if American influences in Greek education were very limited during the War of Independence, and frustrated during the years that immediately followed it, today, around 150 years later, some of the best private schools in Greece have American (often missionary) origins. Most of the schools were first established for the benefit of the Greeks in Asia Minor and only later were they transferred to the mainland. This is the case, for instance, of the Hill Memorial School for Girls, the Athens College for Boys, the Pierce College for Girls, and the Anatolia College in

Salonica. There is no English equivalent to these foundations. Their general outlook and the social groups for which they cater have little in common with the expectations of their originators, and because of the overcentralised control which characterises Greek education they have only a small and indirect effect on the formulation of national educational policies; but their importance as a challenge to the state should not be overlooked.

d THE LONDON GREEK COMMITTEE AND EDWARD MASSON

Frequent reference has been made in the previous pages to the interest shown in Greek educational matters by such Britons as Jeremy Bentham, Leicester Stanhope, and Edward Blaquiere. According to the traditional classification of the various categories of foreigners who helped the Greeks during the War of Independence in one way or another, they (together with the Frenchman Henri-Auguste Dutrône) are apparently the only "philhellenes" (among whom the missionaries are not usually included) to have been directly involved in promoting education and propagating knowledge among the Greeks. These Britons were all active members of the London Greek Committee to which, too, reference has been made before, and which had as its "grand object (...) to give freedom and knowledge to Greece" (1).

In order to help Greece to gain its national independence the Committee proceeded to several measures which proved more or less successful, but it is this association of the concepts of freedom with education which is of particular interest in the present context. It may have derived from the "progressive" character of the Committee, dominated as it was by Benthamite liberalism and utilitarianism, but it proved to be one of the most consistent preoccupations of its members. It could indeed be said that since the philhellenic aspirations of the

Committee went beyond assistance for an immediate military success and extended to the future of the new state, its contribution in the latter direction was among the most important for the Greeks. That it did not have any immediately apparent effect on the subsequent evolution of Greek socio-political institutions, must not be attributed only, or even principally, to the character of these British intentions.

Be this as it may, it would not seem justifiable to consider that the Committee was interested in promoting education in Greece merely as a means of presenting a favourable image of the country which would help some of its other endeavours in London such as the affair of the Loans (2). The Committee and its agents appear to have exerted greater effort in this field than would have been necessary for such a purpose. A similar remark has been made above about the preoccupation of the Greek authorities with educational matters at the height of the War. That in both the British and the Greek case the issue has indirectly contributed to demonstrating that the War itself was only the beginning of an effort for an independent existence of the Greek people cannot diminish its importance.

It is interesting to point out here that all three of the above-mentioned members of the Committee also appear on the lists of the British and Foreign School

Society at the time, as Life Governors or simply as subscribers; Stanhope even served on its General Committee for a time (3). Moreover, it is very likely that it was he who in 1814 represented the School Society at the opening meeting in Paris of the Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire, of which Blaquiere was made a membre correspondant at one of its meetings in November 1825 at which he was present; some of his letters were even printed in the Society's Journal (4). In one of them he urged them to publish for the benefit of the Greeks, among other works, selected pages of Fenelon, Bossuet, Massillon, "ces apôtres de la religion et de la vérité en France", as well as short treatises on geography, and abridged histories of Greece, France and England. More significant, he proposed that they should imitate their English counterparts and help in the training of teachers for Greece (5). The description of the relevant activities of the Société made in the previous pages of this study demonstrates that of Blaquiere's proposals only a fraction were ever put into effect. They do, however, reveal an additional aspect of his interest in the diffusion of education and European culture among the Greeks. Regarding the association of British philhellenes with Educational Societies, let it be noted in passing that even Lord Byron, who was later so critical of the "cultural" activities in Greece of Leicester Stanhope, was for many years among the Vice-

Presidents of the British and Foreign School Society (6).

Byron, indeed, objected more generally to the rather liberal and enlightened work of the Committee, and his ironies and outspoken criticisms must have helped to strengthen the critics of the way in which the Committee had set out to assist the Greeks, an attitude which did not lack political overtones (7). As early as 1823 the Quarterly Review summarised these objections:

> "To give at once complete freedom to a people with whom slavery, in its most odious and dreadful form, has been long familiar, is not to confer a blessing; it is to offer to them a temptation to disorder; it is to stimulate them to violence" (8).

In 1827 it was even more explicit when it criticised the Committee and its agents for wanting to introduce:

> "printing presses for a nation that cannot read! Constitutions for a country, the purest patriots of which are klephtai, i.e. robbers! Mathematical instruments for a people who do not know one cipher from another!
> and whirligig schools for youth who have hardly a village in which they can rest for a moment without the expectation of having the scimitar at their throats" (9).

Whatever truth there may be in these remarks, it should be obvious from what has been said before in this study, that most of the intentions criticised by the Quarterly Review were in absolute accordance with the expressed desires and expectations of the Greeks themselves.

The educational activities of the London Greek Committee include the sending to Greece of Edward Masson, the young Scotsman who has been mentioned before in these pages as having gone there with the exclusive intention of cooperating in the promotion of education, In order to proceed to Greece he refused a post which had been offered to him at Lord Guilford's Ionian Academy (10). His American friend, Samuel Gridley Howe, has given a description of the man and of his intentions, as well as some information about his early stay in Greece:

> "Masson (...) is a gentleman and a scholar; a republican and a philanthropist, enthusiastically attracted to Greece. He has left his country in high hopes of being useful to her, and by his conduct since his arrival (he) has gained renown (for) himself to be one of the very few philhellenes, who were not entirely showing themselves off. He first solicited the Government that they would give him the superintendence of establishing a system of schools over the whole country; but finding them rather dilatory, he came to this place (Ydra) where he has now (17 June 1825) been ten weeks. Here he gives instruction gratuitously to several young men in the English language and some other studies. He speaks the modern Greek with ease and elegance, and is proficient in the Hellenic. Should he be spared he will be the silent but powerful organ of the distribution of knowledge through this country, and will thus confer the greatest good on her, the greatest honor to himself. The first thing that pleased me in Masson was his liberality of sentiments on all subjects, and his candid, open way of speaking of America towards whom like few Englishmen he

entertained feelings of respect and admiration" (11).

Of Masson's application to organise schools on a national scale no trace seems to have survived, if, indeed, it had ever been made. Masson himself does not appear to mention it in his writings; on the contrary his recollections of that period, written some forty years later, give a quite different picture of his early experiences in Greece:

> "The moment I arrived in Greece, I perceived that my own youthful ardour and the advice of well-meaning friends had led me astray. The state of the country was appalling. War, both foreign and civil, was spreading desolation and dismay. In the capital, though a town of small size, an epidemic was mowing down thirty of forty victims a day. I resolved, come what might, not to complain. I had put my hand to the plough, and to look back was now too late. I was soon stretched on a bed of sickness, and for the space of two years I scarcely enjoyed perfect health for a single day. (...) My enthusiasm in the cause, however, sustained me to a wonderful degree. I employed every moment's respite in acquiring the modern Greek, and in lecturing to the Greeks. Towards the end of 1826, I was all but cut off by a dreadful malignant fever, the recollection of which even now affects my nerves" (12).

There are at least two records of Masson's educational activities during the years under review, and they seem to agree with his own memories and with the rest of Howe's account. The first is a communication from Ydra, dated 25 May (1825), published in the Efimeris ton Athinon,

according to which he lectured daily to the young people of the island. He also seems to have been associated with a move to establish there a public library and public shcools of the mutual method (13). Neither of these projects seems to have materialised at the time, but this cannot be attributed to Masson's withdrawal from Ydra. A year later, in July 1826 he is reported in the Greek General Gazette as delivering in Modern Greek free public lectures on Political Economy and Moral Philosophy to "crowded audiences" in Nafplion. The report also explains the lecturer's motives; according to it Masson:

> "loves the Greeks very much; he offers them useful and beneficial advice; he has a philanthropic consideration for their misfortunes and errors; and knowing, as a philosopher, that a nation enslaved for so many centuries, especially under the barbarian Turks, the persecutors of any learning and of everything beneficent, cannot be without many and great vices, he endeavours by every means to change the defects caused to the Greeks by slavery into virtues" (14).

It should also be noted that Masson corresponded with Robert Forster (of the British and Foreign School Society) who seems to have taken a personal interest in his health and work (15). Little more appears to be known of Masson's early years in Greece; his later activities, however, have been better recorded and are more often referred to, but they mostly belong to other fields than

education. From 1827 he served as secretary and interpreter to Lord Cochrane, who was assisting the Greek forces; later he became a lawyer, and then he was appointed Attorney General. Some reference to these occupations is also made in Chapter VI below. In the early 1840s he was appointed Reader in Philosophy, and then Professor of History at the University of Athens; during that time he was also in contact with the Christian Knowledge Society, on the subject of the publication of religious books in Greece. In 1845 he was back in Scotland and unsuccessfully applied for the chair of Greek at Edinburgh University. He returned to Greece twenty years later and died in Athens in 1873 (16).

Although the effect of Masson's educational activities in Greece on the development of her policies must have been of an indirect nature, and thus minimal in view of their limited character, it may be interesting to note some of his views on educational and cultural issues. The little evidence of them which exists belongs to periods later than the years investigated here, but it may offer an insight into his attitudes, beliefs, and intentions during the time when he considered education to be his primary objective in Greece. In this respect it is worth noting that the first article printed in his periodical O Paratiritis, published in Nafplion in 1838, is a "Legislator's Speech" translated, according to the

editor, from a manuscript of Jeremy Bentham. The two remaining published issues of the periodical include quotations from, among other, Locke, Bacon, Milton and the Edinburgh Review on philosophy, the freedom of the press, and education (17). Even more significant, however, are his views on the teaching of Ancient Greek. These he expressed when he was a candidate for the chair in Edinburgh, but they have a particular interest in view of the importance attributed in Greece to the teaching of Ancient Greek and of the extremely traditional methods that were used in this subject. Masson believed that Ancient Greek should not be taught:

> "as a dead but as a living language; and should not employ the routine system, which requires a length of years to lead to any great proficiency, but should train students to write and speak Hellenic on a plan similar to Ollendorff's approved method of teaching living tongues" (18).

These indications may not give a full enough illustration of Masson's beliefs, and their "progressive" character does not seem to agree totally with his later attitudes in matters related to the Greek judiciary, but they appear to have provoked a certain reaction among the Greek Establishment at the time. A sign of this is recorded by Edgar Garston in his Greece Revisited, where he quotes a letter he received from Athens. This refers to Masson's teaching at the University there, and states that:

"He is a thorough lover of truth, and does not shrink from stating it, in giving instructions. The general esteem of the Greek youth begins to excite envy against him, and to create him secret enemies. The opponents of truth cannot bear the light" (19).

Apart from Edward Masson's attempts to promote education in Greece at the time, mention should be made in this context of a Society of Ladies established in Edinburgh "for promoting education, especially that of females in Greece" (20). Its formation on 9 April 1825 does not appear to have originated with the London Greek Committee, though it is favourably mentioned by Blaquiere, and it seems to have been rather ineffectual (21). After an apparantly difficult start, all it seems to have achieved is the dispatch of an agent (Miss Euphemia Robertson) to Corfu in 1828. She had been trained for three months by the British and Foreign School Society and while in Corfu she assisted some of the missionaries there in the running of their schools (22). There is no evidence that the Ladies' Society ever acted within the boundaries of the Greek state. Consequently this Society's activities, as well as those of Edward Masson, merely indicate trends in matters related to developments in Greek education. On the English side they demonstrate the increased importance attributed to this form of assistance to the Greeks; there is enough evidence to justify the belief that this consideration was motivated by genuine feelings.

Moreover, on the Greek side, these intentions, especially in the case of Masson, certainly gave encouragement to similar native attempts, and extended the ground for more direct English influences in this field.

CHAPTER V

T H E E M E R G E N C E O F A S C H E M E

The various projects which have been discussed in the previous chapters of this study, the measures proposed by their initiators, and the influences reflected, did not form parts of a single plan and were by no means coordinated nor even related to each other. They do, however, represent common aspirations and intentions, as well as common sources of influence. It seems, then, possible to consider that they give a comprehensive impression of the type of educational system that would have been formed in the new Greek state if the same intellectual tendencies and the same forces had been allowed to exercise their influence after the end of 1827. Before, however, investigating the development of these aspects of Greek education, it seems necessary to consider the scheme which emerges from the factors hitherto described. In the following pages an attempt is made to synthesize these indications, with the reservation that the picture which is built up is purely hypothetical and is used only in order to help a clarification of tendencies and possibilities (1).

i. Planning and administration

After the outbreak of the War of Independence and until the voting of the second Constitution, (Nomos tis Epidavrou, April 1823), responsibiblity for education was tacitly left to local authorities and the regional governments. Local authorities had been active in the field of education during the last years of Turkish rule and it seemed natural that they should continue to be so even after the establishment of a central government. However, the abolition of the regional governments by the second Constitution and a more elaborate organisation of the state brought education under the protection of the Legislative Body and led to the establishment of the post of Eforos of Education. The holder of this post was the highest administrator in education, responsible both for planning and inspectión, especially since there was no Ministry of Education. At the ministerial level educational matters were dealt with by the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Religion, the initiative in such issues remaining mostly with the Legislative Body.

Under the regime established by the third Constitution, (Politikon Syntagma tis Ellados, May 1827) centralisation in education was taken further by the creation of the Secretariat of State for Justice and Education, while the responsibilities of the Legislative Body in this

sphere were retained and it continued to be concerned with the matter. Within the period under review it appointed three committees (1824, 1826 and 1827) to plan the organisation of a national system of education; discussions on their establishment, their action and their proposals occupy a considerable place in the deliberations of this Body.

ii. Standards and principles of education

Apart from scattered information on the standards of educational establishments envisaged, there are two texts which give a more comprehensive picture of intentions on this issue: the Report of the 1824 Committee on Education, and the Report prepared a year later by the Eforos for Giuseppe Pecchio. The widely accepted scheme of a three-level system is obvious in these texts. The first level would consist of Lancasterian (Preparatory) Schools, the mutual method of instruction having been imposed on a national scale by the second Constitution (1823). Such schools were to be established in every commune; in the capital, however, of each province "central schools of mutual instruction" (2), apparently of a higher standard, would be established. Despite some differences in the terms used, it seems that at the secondary level there would again be two types of schools:

Hellenic Schools, and the more advanced Grammar Schools or Lyceums to be founded in the capitals of the provinces, leading to the third level of education, the University (or Academy) (3). There was also provision for a "General School of Mutual Instruction" i.e. the rough equivalent of a Teacher Training College (or Normal School) (4).

In terms of subjects planned to be taught at the various levels the following is a combined list of those mentioned by contemporary texts (5):

(a) Primary level

Preparatory Schools: Reading, writing and counting.
Central Schools: (information missing).

(b) Secondary level

Hellenic Schools: Elements of Ancient Greek and, when possible, some European language such as French or Italian.
Grammar Schools (Lyceums): Ancient Greek with its relation to Modern; Latin, French (and/or another European language), elements of geography, history, logic, metaphysics, arithmetic, geometry. These Schools would lead to the University.

(c) General (or Central) School of Mutual Instruction

"Various kinds of lessons". Prerequisite for entrance: "a tolerable knowledge of the Hellenic language".

(d) University

Faculties of Theology, Law, Medicine, Sciences, Philosophy and Classical Literature.

Besides these activities in the field of "general" education, mention should be made of the interest which had been expressed in some other educational establishments: in Aigina, a "School of Ecclesiastical Music" is recorded late in 1827. It does not seem to have flourished, but its mere existence, and the fact that the Legislative Body was involved in seeking a solution to financial problems relating to it, should justify its addition to the examples of the extent which planning in education had reached. (6). Similarly, some years earlier, in 1825, educational activity in another direction had been considered: the French Doctor Bailly, who was then working in Greece, submitted to the government a project for the Organisation of a State Health Service; it includes the following clause under the title Organization of a School of Medicine:

> "Since the Greeks must always be concerned in eliminating the necessity of travelling abroad in order to be educated whereas they could establish institutions for this purpose in their own country, and since the establishment of hospitals facilitates the study of the various diseases (...), the Director (of the Public Health Service) must present a plan for the establishment of a School of Medicine" (7).

There is no indication that such a plan was ever prepared, but the Project was discussed by both the Legislative and Executive Bodies, and again, what matters here is that the issue had been seriously considered.

Two more aspects of prevailing official ideas about education at that time are worth noting: the concept of free education, and the belief that girls, as well as boys, should be educated. Both are specifically included in the relevant documents of the Peloponnesian Senate during the precentralisation period (1822) but if no explicit mention of them appears in later official texts on general policies there is also no evidence of any change of attitude. Moreover, there is no indication that fees were ever formally imposed in any state school at the time; on the contrary, there are indications that the authorities were taking measures to provide free education for the poor while the rich were already paying for theirs (8). Regarding girls' education, it should be remembered that one of the schools of the Philomuse Society in Athens was a girls' school (9). These issues, which for many years to come remained at the centre of educational controversy all over the world, seem to have been established principles for the newly independent Greek state.

A further point to be noted is that the attitude of the "ruling class" does not seem to have been hostile to the spread of literacy. This is demonstrated by the role its members played in various educational activities. There is, however, evidence that they were also anxious to retain their privileges. It is, for instance, reported that there existed a written agreement between the Notaras

family, one of the most distinguished of the Peloponnese, and the teacher of Trikala, according to which the latter undertook the obligation "not to teach the children of the other inhabitants the same lessons which he would teach their children, but easier ones" (10). Significantly (and perhaps not only for the period under review) they did not demand exclusive but preferential treatment in education.

iii. Outside the state system

The three-level educational system described above was to be complemented by a hundred-member Academy to be concerned with what we would today define as research. The institution, though functioning within the restrictions of the law and acting on the approval of the Legislative Body, would be independent and founded as a result of private initiative. Apart from this institution, two more private Societies were also functioning during the time when official principles and policies were being formulated as described above: the oldest, the Philomuse Society in Athens, and the Philanthropic Society in Nafplion.

The Philomuse Society had been founded long before the outbreak of the War of Independence. It was concerned with cultural matters such as the foundation of a museum, the foundation of a library, and the creation of a

botanical garden, institutions with which the state was not yet ready to deal. It also planned to establish a School of Sciences, a University and an Academy of Fine Arts. It opened schools at the lower levels, one of which functioned in a most "progressive" way, representing civic training in practice, a most useful endeavour for a nation just gaining its independence.

Similarly the Philanthropic Society started by founding a hospital, which again the state could not provide, and, significantly, abandoned this activity as soon as the government was prepared to take it over, This enabled the Society to turn to educational activities and it founded a school in Nafplion where it employed successively two of the very few foreign-trained teachers of the mutual method (G. Constantinou and N. Nikitoplos). The Society's involvement in education was becoming more important towards the end of the period under review when it was proposed that it should collaborate with the state authorities in the establishment and running of a state school system, and when a project was prepared (by C.L. Korck) which provided for the concentration of the Society's activities solely on educational matters.

iv. <u>Indications of influences</u>

The belief in the value of education which prevailed

among learned Greeks before the War of Independence appears to have been conveyed to a wider section of the population. It had certainly been influenced by similar attitudes in Western Europe, while it was natural for the new state to turn towards the more advanced foreign countries to seek guidance and examples for its own educational philosophy.

These influences have not been identified in relation to the first period of decentralised responsibility in education, though the United States of America, where education had never been the concern of the federal government, had been considered by many Greeks as an adequate prototype for the new Greek state. Specialists have also concluded that in the writing of their constitutions the Greek legislators had not followed any one particular foreign model, but the existence of clauses on education in such documents could not have escaped their attention as most of those assumed to have served as examples for the Greeks included clauses on this subject.

A specific example of a very imprtant borrowing in matters of education may have been the adoption and propagation of the Lancasterian method. This, in the countries which had the strongest influence on Greece, was considered to be something beyond a simple pedagogical system, a way, indeed, to social reform and equality; this

was the case in England, France and Russia. The method had also gained a considerable reputation in Italy and had been widely praised and applied in the Ionian Islands. One of the very few teachers who had studied it abroad and who was in Greece during the period under review (G. Cleovoulos) accompanied the Eforos of education (G. Constantas) and helped him in the foundation of schools.

But the turn towards English and French examples, and more generally towards the "progressive" educational movements abroad, is also demonstrated by the dominant place given to the teaching of foreign languages in the schools and the importance attributed to other "modern" subjects such as the sciences and mathematics. The following very characteristic passage of Constantas' Report to Pecchio on the planned University offers further evidence: To this institution:

> "are to be invited all those learned Greeks whom circumstances have detained in different parts of Europe, that each may communicate to the nation the knowledge he has acquired while absent from his country. There shall also be invited into Greece as many learned men from the enlightened nations of Europe as shall be judged necessary for the perfect establishment of the University" (11).

In this respect special mention should be made of the fact that the vast majority of those who had been involved in educational matters at the highest administrative level (the Eforos, the members of the 1824 Committee, the

Secretaries of State for Education) were more or less familiar with foreign ideas.

Cultural and educational influences, from England in particular, seem to have been especially strong, as would be expected, at the time when military, political and financial matters were rendering that country, if not popular, at least interesting to the Greeks. It should also be noted that in the field of education, specifically, the interest in Greece shown by countries other than Britain, came later than the period examined here: the concern for Greece of the Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire followed that of the British and Foreign School Society, and the representatives of American Missionary Societies arrived in Greece on the whole later than their English counterparts, and anyway after the end of the period which is investigated here.

These influences were not apparent only in the official actions of the state but also where private groups took the initiative. The English contribution to the foundation of the Philomuse Society in 1813 was only the beginning of a lasting relationship, and the Philanthropic Society from its foundation in 1824, and especially after its more educational orientation in 1826, had similar contacts. Even among the deputies who proposed the foundation of an Academy and who represented a wider cross-section of influences, the number of those

who had links with England or the Ionian Islands (then under English rule) was not negligible.

* * *

Thus at the arrival of President Capodistrias in January 1828, the Greek nation, by means of a clause in its Constitution, as well as through its official representatives and by private initiative, had established its educational principles and clearly expressed its ambitions for the organisation of an educational system of which both the structure and the goals had been defined. There is sufficient evidence to lead to the assumption that official policies and private initiative reflected the common popular expectations of the benefits to be derived from education. Moreover, a relationship mainly with England, but also to some degree with France, had been established in this field, and this seemed to lead towards both material assistance and cultural influence in the sphere of theories.

In the following, last, chapter of this study the signs which indicate that there was a fundamental change in the approach to education immediately after Capodistrias took over the leadership of the new state will be discussed. It will also be shown that this new trend was continued and accentuated under King Otho's

administration, when the foundations of the present Greek educational system were laid down.

CHAPTER VI

A C H A N G E O F A T T I T U D E

Unlike the developments in education during the War of Independence, the work of Capodistrias in this field has been the subject of a number of monographs (1). All of these give, however, a somewhat distorted picture of his attitude to the matter and of measures taken during his term of office, since they seem to support the doctrine of the infallibility of the national figures of the time. More relevant to the present study, these works take as their starting point the acceptance of the belief that Capodistrias laid the foundation of the Greek national system of education. But this belief does not appear to be well founded. Proof has been presented in the previous pages of this study sufficient to establish the fact that during the War a general concern for education existed and that it was expressed both in the formulation of plans and projects by the central authorities, and in the foundation of educational Societies and Institutions. On the other hand, the principles and patterns out of which the present Greek educational system grew were formulated after Capodistrias' death, on

prototypes which had no affinity with his own approach to the subject. Consequently it would seem that Capodistrias was not the first central authority to draw up an official educational policy in Greece, nor did his own measures on this matter have any effect on the future of her educational system. An objective account of Capodistrias' views on national education and of his real role in that field has yet to be written.

But be this as it may, in the present context it suffices to investigate the development of those foreign influences in education which, as has been shown, existed during the War, especially in view of their disappearance during the rule of Capodistrias' successors. A further point of interest is the relationship of Capodistrias' policies in the matter with the declared hopes and intentions of the administrative and intellectual leaders of Greece during the War. In other words, what has to be examined in this chapter is not what was done by the Capodistrian administration in the field of education, but whether that administration's actions were inspired by the same principles as those prevailing during the War of Independence, and subjected to the same influences.

In this respect, and in the absence of any but circumstantial evidence on the offical policy on the establishment of a comprehensive national educational system between 1828 and 1831, one could examine the

extent to which those who had been most influential in education during the previous period were still contributing under Capodistrias' rule. These people were the two who had been chosen for the post of Eforos of Education, the members of the 1824 Committee on Education, and the two Secretaries of State for Justice and Education.

The first Eforos (1823), Theoklitos Farmakidis, is more significant in this context for having been designated to the post, than for his activities in it, which, if any, were minimal. However, he did serve during the War as Director of the Greek General Gazette (Geniki Efimeris tis Ellados) through which he conveyed his liberal ideas on education. On Capodistrias' arrival and the establishment of autocratic government, Farmakidis chose to retire from public life (2). The second Eforos, Grigorios Constantas, had perhaps already been overshadowed in his high administrative functions by the creation of a Secretariat of State for Education during the last year of the War. Capodistrias' arrival found him in Syra. He was directed to secure the provision of timber for the building of the Orphanage in Aigina, the most advertised establishment of the Capodistrian era. He was later employed mainly as administrative director of that institution with some vague responsibility (shared with the rest of the staff) for "the moral upbringing of the orphans" (3).

Of the members of the 1824 Committee, Panoutsos Notaras, who probably sat on it as a political figure and not as an expert adviser, refused to serve in official posts which were proposed to him by the Capodistrian administration (4). The President of the Committee, Anthimos Gazis, who had collaborated with Capodistrias before the outbreak of the War, had also retired to Syra; he died there in 1828, apparently without having been officially employed by the State (5). Of the activities during this period of the two relatively lesser known members of the Committee, Michael Kavas and Kyrillos Liverios Liveropoulos, there seems to be no trace. Spyridon Trikoupis, the fifth member of the Committee, served initially under Capodistrias. However, regarding education, he has included in the History, which he wrote later, his views on the way in which he believed Capodistrias was considering the issue. He says that Capodistrias maintained that much learning was injurious to society, and that only a small degree of learning of a religious nature contributes to its well-being (6). Trikoupis' statement is significant because of his having been familiar with the President's administration and also because his History is generally considered to be objective and fair to Capodistrias; on the other hand, it carries particular weight because of the interest which he had expressed during the War in

matters of culture and education. Trikoupis served as General Secretary of State when Capodistrias, having dismissed the government and dissolved the Legislative Body on his arrival (January 1828), ruled without a cabinet; in educational matters his responsibilities involved executive duties only.

Gerasimos Koppas, the first Secretary of State for Justice and Education, does not seem to have held any official post after leaving the Ministry late in 1827 (he died in 1832), and Michael Soutzos, the second Secretary, served for a time as Secretary of the Senate (the second appointed Body which Capodistrias established as a substitute for a Parliament), and then as Governor of the Northern Sporades Islands, where he encouraged the establishment of a school (7); he was not, however, involved in any educational activity of the central government.

In September 1829 Capodistrias formed a Cabinet; it included a Secretary of State for Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs. A former deputy at the pre-Capodistrian National Assemblies, and the Legislative Body, Nikolaos Chrysogelos, was appointed to the post. Before the War he was running a school in his native island, Sifnos, but, despite his having been designated to accompany the boys who would be sent to England with Blaquiere (a task which he did not fulfil), and his

appointment to a Committee to prepare a description of Constantas' duties as Eforos (which was not issued), he was not involved in any way in the establishment of educational policies during the War of Independence. There is no evidence that during his term of office as Secretary of State, which lasted for the rest of the Capodistrian period, Chrysogelos was much more than the executive agent of the President's policies (8).

A few months before the appointment of the Secretaries of State, Capodistrias convened a National Assembly packed with his nominees and supporters (Argos, July 1829). The Assembly issued a resolution on education, following Capodistrias' exposition of his intentions on the matter. It gave power to the government to implement its aims, which included among others "the encouragement of the promotion of the mutual method of instruction and the establishment of model schools", as well as "the establishment of schools of a higher level for those who intend to dedicate themselves to the Church, the civil services, and the study of arts, sciences and literature" (9). This could hardly be described as the basis of a comprehensive educational system such as the one considered during the War of Independence. And, with almost all "educational leaders" of the pre-Capodistrian period absent from any educational planning or activity, it becomes obvious that between, say, 1824 and 1829 there

was a fundamental change in the approach to the matter of education. Assuming, moreover, that in 1824 official policies in education were in accordance with the popular aspirations in this field, one would agree once more with George Finlay that (in this at least) Capodistrias had "placed his policy in direct opposition to the feelings of the nation" (10). Of this there are some further indications: the careers of the foreign-trained teachers which seem to develop outside the state system; Capodistrias' reluctant attitude towards foreigners interested in establishing schools, in contrast to the welcome previously accorded to them; the very critical view of Capodistrias' educational policy expressed by Korais who had been the inspiring force behind similar policies during the War. These indications require further investigation.

In connection with the most important foreign-trained teachers, mentioned elsewhere in this study as being examples of a substantial foreign (mainly English and French) influence in education, it should be noted that during this period Georgios Constantinou was probably working with the American missionaries, and was nd employed by the state. His fellow-student at the Borough Road School of the British and Foreign School Society, Dimitrios Pieridis (who, as mentioned before, according to one source of information, was sent to Greece

by the wish of Capodistrias), also worked in Syra for a foreign missionary and not for the government. Georgios Cleovoulos, the French-trained teacher, was employed for a month (April 1828) by Capodistrias as head of the school established in the island of Poros to cater for the orphans of the War, but he died soon after (11).

In the context of this tendency for foreign-trained teachers to opt out of the state system, and work in missionary schools, mention should be made of Ioannis Venthylos. He had studied Ancient Greek Literature in Berlin, and at the age of 24, in 1828, he returned to Greece to be employed by Capodistrias, first at the Orphan School and then at the Central School, in Aigina, which will be discussed later. This employment,,however, did not last long: by mid-1830 he had been forced to resign for reasons which still remain obscure, but are probably related to the liberal aspects of his teachings (12). A year later Venthylos was working with the American missionaries, Hill and Robertson, in Athens, having "general charge of the whole establishment" which, as is mentioned below, comprised a Lancasterian, a middle, and an upper school (13). Towards the end of 1831 Venthylos was offering his "excellent library of fifteen hundred volumes" to an Institution which was planned to be established in Athens, by the "Friends of Education in Greece" of Philadelphia, and promised to "devote himself

to the instruction in the Greek language and literature" of its scholars (14).

It is the case of Neofytos Nikitoplos, however, which seems to be the most characteristic of the way in which educational matters were treated during this period. It must be remembered here that this "monk of liberal views, devoted to education", as Rufus Anderson calls him (15), had run the very "progressive" girls' school of the Philomuse Society in Athens (16). At the time of Capodistrias' arrival he was at the Philanthropic Society's school in Nafplion, where he was visited by the President, who praised his work. Soon after this he became teacher of the Lancasterian school established within the Orphanage in Aigina (17). A few months later he was also appointed to a three-member committee which was asked to revise spelling cards and books used in the Lancasterian schools, and to comment on other matters regarding these schools. The two remaining members were Henri-Auguste Dutrône and Ioannis Kokkonis, who had recently arrived from France and was to dominate Greek primary education for the next twenty-three years (18). Andreas Moustoxydis, from Corfu, (strongly trusted by Capodistrias) who, too, had recently arrived in Aigina from abroad and was being given increasing responsibilities in education, also participated in the meetings of the Committee which was later asked to prepare a set of regulations to be followed

by "all teachers" (19).

It was at this Committee that Nikitoplos disagreed with Kokkonis on the type of the mutual method to be introduced in the schools, and the manual to be used in its application. Nikitoplos' view was that the method "has not yet reached its perfection, not even in France or England. Every year new books are published about it, with different remarks on the technique and method of teaching". The Committee, he proposed, must not adopt one system, but should compare them all, as applied to Greece and abroad "and select what under the present circumstances is the best and most suitable, and compile its own instructions" (20). Kokkonis, however, who, despite an apparently liberal start was already showing signs of the autocratic manners which were to characterize his later life, thought differently (21). Supported by Koustoxydis, he succeeded in persuading the ministry to approve the method as amended by the French Louis-Charles Sarazin whose manual he undertook to translate for the state, which would distribute it to all schools. This disagreement seems to have grown to considerable dimensions, and eventually Nikitoplos resigned, expressing his bitterness and his intention to go to Paris (22). But his plan did not materialise and - a very significant fact - a few months later, being still out of work, he applied for a post as a teacher in his native town,

Dimitsana, promising to apply the method which was approved by the government, and which he had previously so strongly opposed. The appointment was approved by the government, but the salary offered was considered to be "humiliating" by Nikitoplos who declined to accept the post (23). He went to Syra where he met the American missionary, Jonas King, who promptly engaged him for the school which he was planning to establish in Athens. King believed him to be "probably among the best teachers for a Lancasterian school to be found in Greece" (24). His story could be considered as one of the first examples of the way in which teachers in Greece were made to conform to official policies and methods by being deprived of any alternative through the over-centralisation of the system, and of the attraction exercised by the missionaries over "progressive" Greek teachers.

Henri-Auguste Dutrône, the third member of the Committee mentioned here (the circumstances of his visit to Greece and a general appreciation of his character are given on page 203 above), is widely believed to have favoured Capodistrias' educational policy (25). On the contrary, it appears that his experience in this field, in which he had been given increased responsibilities, made him very critical of it. His objections, however, seem to be of a different order from those put forward by other critics. His complaint was that at the Central School

of Aigina, a sort of Teachers Training College, and the only post-primary school organised by the government, there were:

> "point de cours de la science d'Euclide, pour pierre d'attente d'un autel à Uranie; Mercure n'a pas d'organe pour le commerce; Neptune en est également privé pour la navigation.
>
> Ainsi les jeunes Hellènes, voués par le sol et les besoins de la patrie au négoce, à l'architecture navale, à la marine, pourront sortir de cet Athénée sans connaître d'autre guide dans le commerce que la cupidité, d'autres principes de construction que la routine des charpentiers, d'autres boussole que les caps et les rochers!" (26).

Reviewing more generally Capodistrias' attitude towards educational contacts with France, one would assume that initially he was more kindly disposed to them. He kept in touch with the Société de l'Instruction Elémentaire of which he had been an honorary overseas member since 1815, and he gratefully received material and books sent by it, mostly on Dutrône's initiative (27). So strong was this general contact with France during Capodistrias' time that in 1831 an American observer wrote that:

> "The French nation is, at this time, exerting a considérable influence in modifying the systems of education in Greece, and that country seems to be destined to exert a still greater influence." (28).

This view was based on the fact that French troops had helped to liberate the Peloponnese, that a French

scientific corps was investigating in Greece, and that there were many Frenchmen among the Greeks "always ready to impart their knowledge and render assistance". To these examples others could easily be added, such as the fact that, of the three members appointed to the Committee mentioned above, one was a Frenchman and two had been trained in France. It is in this respect significant that Paul Kipper in his Geschichte des Neugriechischen Volksschulwesens (1897) gives to the First Part of his study the title "The School under French influence until 1834" (29). Despite all this it seems that already at the time of publication of those remarks, a decline was marked in the strength of French educational influences on official Greek attitudes. This can probably be attributed partly to a change in French external policy, and partly to a different atmosphere in Greece. Dutrône had become critical of the President's educational policy; this, combined with the blunder connected with 21 Greek orphans who were to be sent to France for their education and were returned to Greece as soon as they reached Toulon (30), must have been at the root of a new phase of the Greco-French relationship in educational matters. Moreover, the attitude of Korais and his disciples who, having been liberal and pro-French, had naturally become anti-Capodistrian, may also have contributed to this change (31).

C.M. Woodhouse in his The Philhellenes concludes that, of the foreigners, Capodistrias "probably liked best" the Swiss and the Americans (32), and this view is reinforced by those foreigners who during his rule seem to have been free to develop their educational activities in Greece. No Swiss were involved in this field, but the Americans were increasing their efforts to contribute to education in Greece. The first school started by Americans on Greek territory was that founded by the Rev. Josiah Brewer in Syra at the time of the President's arrival in Greece (January 1828); it was followed by the school established in mid-1829 at Tinos by the Rev. Jonas King, who later opened his famous school in Athens (April 1831). This trend continued, with, among others, the Rev. John Henry Hill (Athens, 1831) and, even after the end of the Capodistrian era with the Rev. Elias Riggs (Argos, 1834) (33).

But it must be noted that this constituted a fundamental change in the origin of the help offered to Greece from abroad in educational matters. The philhellenism such as appeared to dominate the initiatives of Stanhope, Blaquiere, and even Bentham, or the attitude of Dutrône, was now being succeeded by missionary motivation. This, coinciding as it does with the strengthening of the ecclesiastical element among the Greek Establishment, would explain a gradual alteration in the

way in which the offers were received in Greece. Further, since all missionaries active in Greece at the time were of Protestant origin, their interest in spreading literacy was restricted to the level of the primary schools, so much so that when, in 1832-33, Jonas King expressed his interest in establishing a College in Athens (a project which he had been contemplating for a number of years) the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to which he belonged remarked that:

> "It being obviously proper that the operations of the Board in Greece, so far as education is concerned, should be confined to the elementary and religious departments, the Committee have not taken any formal cognizance of this proposal from Mr. King" (34).

The same Board, however, does not seem to have objected to the Rev. Elias Riggs' plan to establish a Higher School for girls at his school at Argos, possibly because it aimed at the training of teachers of elementary schools (35). Other agencies were even less rigid in this respect: F. Hildner of the Church Missionary Society was also running in the Pedagogeion at Syra a "Higher School for Girls", but its expenses were shared between the Society and a group of local contributors (36). The Reverends J. Hill and J. Robertson of the (American) Episcopal Church anticipated dividing their boys' school into three departments: a Lancasterian school (where the 3Rs would be taught as well as "a little geography"), a

higher level where "the elements of Ancient Greek, and a larger portion of arithmetic, geography, etc." would be studied, and a top level at which the children would "pursue a limited course of classical reading, together with other branches". This plan, however, was only reluctantly approved by their Board of Directors, and only for a limited period, after which the missionaries should restrict their principal activities to "elementary instruction" (37). This was obviously not going far enough for those Greeks who a few years earlier had anticipated for their country a complete educational pyramid, though it might have been in accordance with Capodistrias' views.

On the other hand, his generally reserved attitude towards foreign influences again sharply contrasts with the wishes of the War-time period as they are expressed in Constantas' Report to Pecchio, mentioned in Chapter III above (pp.76ff.), in which he anticipates the invitation of foreign teachers as well as Greek scholars from abroad to the planned University. The same attitude is reflected in a letter addressed by the National Assembly in 1827 to the brothers Zosima, the wealthy Greeks of Epirus. In it the Assembly stressed that "The Nation (...) feels the need to be enlightened in order to preserve its freedom and enjoy its happiness" and that for this purpose it was necessary to invite teachers from Europe (38).

Moreover, the Capodistrian era saw the revival of that pre-War fear of foreign influences, referred to in Chapter II of this study, of which Athanassios Parios had been the most eminent representative. Thus a few months after H.-A. Dutrône had offered to teach the French language to children in Aigina, the Greek General Gazette published a long article on the subject that "Language is the characteristic of each nation and the means by which the morals of men in society are formed". The writer predicts a disastrous division of any nation:

> "the members of which, having neglected their mother tongue, are subjected prematurely and thoughtlessly some to this foreign language and some to that".

Then, attacking directly Dutrône's proposal, he says that:

> "the error becomes more serious, and the sin absolutely unforgivable if our tender youth - our young offspring of 10 and 15 years of age, who do not even know their mother tongue, who have not yet been formed morally, who have not been initiated, as is proper, into the dogmas of our most holy religion - if we entrust this youth of ours to foreigners who teach them foreign languages" (39).

At this point a clarification should be attempted of the influences which were exercised by the missionaries in Greece during that time. Because, if in education they were bearers of more or less "progressive" ideas, their general attitude towards culture seems to have been more akin to the views of "reactionary" Greek scholars, such

as Parios, than to "progressive" ones such as Korais. The missionaries' reaction, for instance, to the circulation of Voltaire's works in Greece is characteristic of this. To William Jowett's horror, in 1819 the works of Voltaire could be seen "even on the classic soil of Greece" (40). Later similar remarks were made by others, such as C.L. Korck (whose motives are discussed in pp. 164 ff. above) who in 1828 observed that:

> "Many infidel notions exist among those Greeks who have studied in Europe, and those who are in connection with them; but so far I can observe, among them all there are few or none who have really employed their time in studying infidel books: the Greeks have, in general, a character of levity; and seem to employ their time in the Academies of Europe not as they ought, knowing the wants of their country: there are few really instructed. Infidelity seems, therefore, not yet to have taken hold" (41).

This view of the effects of studies abroad was shared even by less obviously ecclesiastical figures: the Philadelphian Friends of Education in Greece, mentioned above, in their Appeal of 6 December 1831 observed that many Greek youths:

> "resort annually to foreign universities, and too often return unbelievers and libertines. The effect of their example and their opinions on their countrymen is pernicious" (42).

It is, however, significant that perhaps the most comprehensive exposition of Capodistrias' intentions in

education was provoked by the initiative of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which in 1829 sent Rufus Anderson to Greece with the specific object of ascertaining "the state and prospects of religion and education among the Greek people, and what can be done to help them in their intellectual and moral regeneration". Even more specifically Anderson was instructed "to seek an interview with Count Capodistrias (...) and solicit from him a statement of his views on the subject of education" (43). The interview took place in Aigina in May 1829, and, regarding the building up of an educational system, its outcome was summarised by Anderson in his general Report:

> "The President proposes to commence with elementary instruction, the benefits of which he desires to extend to all the people; and the Holy Scriptures, in the vernacular tongue, he places among the manuals of the youthful learner. To furnish the competent number of teachers, he determines to open a normal school, and sends, for professors to instruct them, to a respectable Society in Paris (the Société de l'Instruction Elémentaire) and to one of the National Societies of this country (the American Board of Commissioners). (...). And when the collective mind of the nation has begun to feel the impulse, and has commenced the upward march, and higher institutions are demanded, then he proposes to found a University, with the necessary apparatus of preparatory schools" (44).

These views, expressed in a number of letters which were addressed by the President to Anderson and various bodies, and were included in the latter's Report, may not differ much from the deliberations of the National Assembly referred to above, which was held at about that time. They do, however, contain a number of points which are worth investigating not only because historians of Greek education do not seem to be aware of them, but also because they are directly relevant to the topics examined here. Whether they were implemented or not, it is most interesting to note that, at that time at least, Capodistrias was prepared to have foreign (significantly French and American) instructors to train the Greek teachers. In the light of this, his attitude towards Greek foreign-trained teachers such as those mentioned before should be explained rather by his doubts about those who had played an important role in the affairs of Greece before his arrival. Regarding education in particular, and judging from the attitudes of people such as Nikitoplos, Constantas, Gennadios and others, Andreas Moustoxydis must have exercised a considerable influence on Capodistrias in minimising the value and importance of the old teachers (45).

Moreover, these remarks reinforce the belief, mentioned by Trikoupis, that Capodistrias was really interested only in spreading literacy on a religious basis;

he did not anticipate the building up of a comprehensive educational system. As he had said, even "when" he should consider the conditions appropriate for the establishment of secondary schools, these would not be complementary to primary, general education, but "preparatory" for the few who would enter University. The views discussed here reveal also the very interesting information that Capodistrias was considering the teaching of the Holy Texts in Modern Greek translation, but the evaluation of this in relation to the Greek "language question" falls beyond the limits of the present study (46).

Capodistrias' readiness to admit foreign assistance in educational matters seems to have been accompanied by certain reservations. Indeed, when it came to more concrete proposals, put forward by Anderson during his interview with the President, to establish schools in Greece, the latter, according to the North American Review's interpretation:

> "expressed a decided preference, that the means which it might be in the power of the friends of Greece to appropriate for this purpose, should take the form of a loan to the Government of Greece, to be applied by the Government, in conformity with the systematic plan which it has adopted for the promotion of education" (47).

The idea of a loan was rejected outright by the Board as unsuited to its principles and this seems to have been

the end of the project. But the intentions were clear: education had to remain the monopoly of the state; outside contributions were discouraged since they would naturally be related to assumptions of freedom from state interference. There is proof of this attitude in a letter addressed by Korck to the Church Missionary Society on 20 November 1829, where he reports his meeting with Capodistrias who had visited Syra:

> "I went in the first evening of the President's arrival in Syra, to pay him my respects; we had almost three quarters of an hour's conversation on education, but I went not too much encouraged away. As you will afterwards better learn, he gave to Mr. Anderson the permission to establish schools, which gave us all a very favourable opinion of his liberal character. But in this conversation he appeared almost as if he felt anxious to confine his permission by insisting much upon it that in such school(s), of course, nothing would be taught what would not enter into the views of (the) government" (48).

Further indications of this tendency came early in 1830 when the Rev. Josiah Brewer was chosen by the Ladies' Greek Association of New Haven to head the school they were planning to establish in Greece. Brewer, however, decided, for several reasons, to found it in Smyrna. Among these the most important of all was perhaps that "some degree of jealousy relative to foreigners appears not only to exist, but to be incresing, with the members of the Government in Greece, and among individuals of

distinction and influence" (49). Even Samuel Gridley Howe, the American Doctor who had founded "Washingtonia", the colony of refugees in Corinth, had to face Capodistrias' change of "disposition towards this nucleus of Greek regeneration"; his changed attitude "so disgusted Dr. Howe, that he has determined upon withdrswing from the country" (50).

More significant, perhaps, in marking the future character of the Greek educational system was the failure of a major American project to promote education in Greece. It was made public in the spring of 1829, when a New York Committee for education in Greece was formed to explore a plan proposed by the faculty of Yale College for establishing in Greece a high school for schoolmasters, a school for females, and an elementary school. A Yale tutor would go to Greece for this purpose, and the services of Vamvas and Kairis would be sought for the school, for which a cabinet of minerals had been offered. The project failed to materialize; however, in this case the failure cannot be ascribed to unfavourable Greek attitudes, since the government had in fact, according to King, invited and applauded the plan (51).

If reservations were apparent in Capodistrias' attitude towards French and American influences in education, his dislike for the British made similar contacts with them in this field even more difficult. Of course his

feelings were not diminished by the actions of some British philhellenes who had remained in Greece, such as Gordon, Finlay and Church, all of whom supported the anti-Capodistrian "constitutionalist" party, not to mention his conflict with Cochrane. Even Edward Masson, by acting as counsel for the defence to the President's assassin (as well as by his previous association with Cochrane), could be assumed to be sympathetically disposed towards them. Masson's anti-Capodistrian feelings may well have originated in his antipathy towards the Russians (of whom Capodistrias was often believed to be an agent) which was later demonstrated by the dubious role he played as Public Prosecutor in the trial of Kolokotronis (who was also considered to be pro-Russian) and his attitude during the trial of the "Philorthodox Society" which sought to strengthen the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church and which had been considered to have Russian backing (52). But whatever his motives, his attitude must have contributed at the time to the creation of an official coolness towards the British. In the field of more specifically educational contacts with Britain, Capodistrias, who had visited the British and Foreign School Society during his stay in London in the summer of 1827, and had later expressed to them "the assurance of his anxiety to promote by every means in his power this great object (i.e. education)" (53), does not seem

to have developed that relationship very far.

As for the English-sponsored school of the Church Missionary Society in Syra, it should be noted that its superintendent, C.L. Korck, had in mid-1828 received from Capodistrias the promise of "every assistance in his power in behalf of the school" (54). Indeed, by December of that year Korck had been asked to take all the schools of the Northern Cyclades under his "protection", and arrange them entirely as he wished. This, however, seems to have been mainly due to the initiative of Constantinos Metaxas, the Governor of the Islands, for in a letter dated 15 April 1830, Korck reports that he had been visited by "the two wardens of the schools (who wanted to consult with him) on the way to bring images (icons) into the school"; and he adds:

> "I learned afterwards that those instructions came from a man who has full authority from Count Capo d'Istria, if not from the Count himself" (55).

Moreover, in August 1830, the Patriarch of Constantinople had written to Capodistrias to warn him of the dangers of missionary activity in Greece (56). Owing to all this Korck resigned from his post in Syra at the end of January 1831, thus becoming a further example of the way in which foreigners were hindered in their educational activities in Greece during the Capodistrian era (57).

All this created, not unjustifiably it would seem,

the general impression that Capodistrias' attitude towards the building up of a national educational system was negative. The missionaries, who were active in Greece at the time and whose writings could now be used in an investigation of this subject, were always very careful to stay out of politics. And as the criticisms of the educational system were gaining increasingly political overtones, they preferred to attribute the hostile actions of which they were the victims to the Greek Church rather than to the civil administration (58). So contemporary testimony on the matter must be sought elsewhere. Indeed, there are quite frequent references to the subject and they appear to describe the same feelings. This is, for instance, the case of George Keppel, the English major who visited Greece in 1829 and who gives the following account of an interview he had with Capodistrias:

> "I was gratified by about five and twenty minutes' very entertaining conversation, if conversation it could be called, when the only part I bore in it was the occasional interjection of '<u>oui</u>', '<u>mais</u>' and '<u>vraiment</u>'. We were scarcely seated, when, without further preface, the President entered into what appeared to me to be a defence of his government. He began by repeating the usual arguments against the general diffusion of knowledge, alleging that instruction would be more detrimental than advantageous to the happiness of the Greeks in their present state: he said that it was impossible to legislate for people who belonged to the eleventh, upon the principles of the nineteenth century" (59).

There is no doubt that Keppel in his dislike of Capodistrias was influenced, once more, by the belief that he was a Russian agent, and by the President's hostile attitude towards the British. Similarly, more or less obviously political reasons for belittling Capodistrias' achievements can be found behind the criticisms of Friedrich Wilhelm von Thiersch, who wanted to glorify the President's Bavarian successors, and Georg Ludvig von Maurer who desired to accentuate his own role in the educational policy of the Regency (60). The Germans, in general, had an additional reason for being particularly critical in the matter, since, allegedly, Capodistrias in his educational policy was following a (now missing) plan prepared by Alexander Stourza, who some ten years earlier had infuriated the German academics by his attack on their Universities and his suggestion that higher education should be left to the Church (61). But whatever the motivation -- or the wording -- of these criticisms, the fact that they all agree in their remarks about education suggests that they represent at least part of the truth.

Further, there are critics with less obvious motives, such as Dutrône, whose disappointment has already been mentioned, and General Jean-Pierre Pellion, who, admitting that:

> "l'éducation de la jeunesse fut un des premiers objets qui attirerent l'attention de Capodistrias à son arrivée au pouvoir",

remarks that under his rule:

> "on cherche (...) à étouffer l'élan de la jeunesse pour les progrès intellectuels, qui cependant était aux yeux des hommes éclairés le seul moyen d'assurer véritablement l'affranchissement de la patrie" (62).

Even more significant in this respect (not only because it is contemporary) is the statute of the secret anti-Capodistrian Society which was revealed in August 1831; article 10 includes among the responsibilities of the members the duty "to act for the establishment of many schools, and to contribute towards their establishment if they have the means" (63). This can hardly be seen as anything but an expression of a general feeling that Capodistrias did not meet the common aspirations towards the provision of a comprehensive national system of education.

To each of these critical remarks, of course, one could juxtapose a number of statements by Capodistrias himself, or of actions taken by his administration to show that he was really concerned with education and that schools were being built all over the country. This, indeed, but only this, seems to have been the task of the studies that deal with the matter (64). It appears, moreover, that beyond any doubt Capodistrias was genuinely interested in

education. He had expressed this inclination while he was still in the Ionian Islands, when he served in the Russian court, and as he was undertaking the long journey to Greece after his nomination to the presidency (65). It is also known that he was one of those who believed that the emancipation of Greece would come through education, and therefore considered the War of Independence premature (66). Others, however, such as Korais, who held the same view, considered that its outbreak had changed the priorities in education, that it had created a need for an acceleration of the slow process of gradually educating the nation, and for a full exploitation of the nation's intellectual potential (67). But Capodistrias remained attached to his old views.

His ideas about the type of educational system suitable for the Greek state appear to have been in line with his ideal (as described by Douglas Dakin) of "a nation of farmers and peasants under his own paternal rule and the French legal code, a community with a democratic society but not a democratic State" (68). In this respect one must remember his admiration for Pestalozzi and particularly for Fellenberg, whose establishment in Hofwyl he had visited in 1814, and praised to the Emperor Alexander, who had commissioned the visit (69). This philanthropic approach to education seems to have been his intention rather than a desire to

organise a comprehensive educational system for the new nation. His particular interest in the Orphanage of Aigina seems to have been very much an expression of this attitude, but, as Paul Kipper says, in a slightly different context: "the pedagogue towards whom the Greeks were looking in respect of their elementary schools was not Pestalozzi but Lancaster" (70).

It must also be noted that Capodistrias had formulated his views on education in different circumstances: in the Ionian Islands it was to serve for the eventual liberation of the country from its British masters; it was not aimed at serving the efficient running of a free state. Similarly in Russia schools were seen mostly as a means of training loyal serfs rather than free citizens. This background would further explain Capodistrias' almost exclusive preoccupation with elementary schools, where religion would play a dominant role, and the fact that the only post-primary school during his rule, the Central School at Aigina, was, as mentioned, no more than a kind of Teachers Training College for "the preparation of the teachers who will direct the model schools which will be established subsequently in various parts of the state" (71). It would appear, as a consequence, that during the era of the tzar-trained President in Greece; as in Russia under Nicholas I, "the system of education made considerable

quantitive progress, though the policies which inspired it can hardly be qualified as 'progressive' " (72).

* * *

The assassination of President Capodistrias (September 1831) was followed by a period of internal strife until the arrival of Otho, the Bavarian Prince who had been appointed to the throne of Greece (January 1833). As before the arrival of Capodistrias, so before the coming of Otho, a new constitution was voted by the National Assembly; in its turn it was abolished by the new head of state. On the subject of education, the 1832 Constitution, the Igemonikon Syntagma tis Ellados, guarantees (art. 28) that:

> "All Greeks have the right to benefit from material and moral goods, such as (...) education (...); to establish educational institutions (...) and to care for (...) their own and their children's education."

The Parliament would (art. 99):

> "Look after public education and protect it",

while the King would (art. 231):

> "along with the Parliament, protect and encourage the common education of the nation".

Finally, among the seven Secretaries of State, it provided one "For Ecclesiastical Affairs and Education" (art. 252) (73). These clauses, the wording of which shows only minor differences from that of the 1828 Constitution, mark a return to its liberal spirit.

Moreover, the general anti-Capodistrian atmosphere which dominated the country after the President's assassination was reflected in education by the return of "educational leaders" of the War-time period who had either abstained from public activity, or had been eliminated from it between 1828 and 1831. This return, marked in 1832 by the appointment of Theoklitos Farmakidis as Eforos of the educational institutions of Aigina (74), continued for some time after the arrival of Otho and the Bavarian Regents: in March 1833 a special six-member committee on education was appointed to investigate:

> "the true state of public education and to formulate proposals on the most suitable means of its improvement, namely for the establishment of (primary) schools of the people (Volksschule), Hellenic schools, gymnasia, and a university (...) " (75).

Ioannis Kokkonis, one of the two strong men in education during Capodistrias' rule, was appointed to the committee, but so also was the formerly dismissed teacher Ioannis Venthylos, together with such liberal and anti-Capodistrian men of letters as the journalist, Anastasios Polyzoidis,

and the poet, Alexandros Soutzos. Both the membership of the committee and it terms of reference are obviously more reminiscent of the 1824 Committee than of the attitudes reflected in Capodistrias' statements and actions.

However, despite the appointment of Spyridon Trikoupis as Secretary of State for Education for some months in 1833, there seems to be no return to the obviously British influences which dominated in this field during the War of Independence. On the other hand, an active participation of Phanariots in educational matters after 1831 indicated a more "European" attitude, since, regardless of their other characteristics, they were clearly inclined towards influences from Western Europe. On the 1833 Committee there were Phanariots, such as Alexandros Soutzos, mentioned above, and Constantinos Schinas, who was soon appointed Secretary of State for Education, in which post he was replaced by yet another Phanariot, Iakovos Rizos Neroulos, a man of letters, who wrote (in French) a History of Modern Greece, and another of her Literature. On educational contacts with the West he had clearly expressed his views during a previous short term of office in the same post: in the Report which he submitted to the National Assembly in August 1832, he stressed that:

> "as soon as the dangers and agitations of the War ceased many Greek men of letters who lived outside the country should have been invited to liberated Greece, to give the benefit of their knowledge to Greek youth" (76).

His "European" inclinations were strongly appreciated by the missionaries in Greece; their feelings are summarised by Elias Riggs, who wrote that Heroulos:

> "is probably one of the most liberal men in the country. So long as he is at the head of the department of public instruction, we have no reason to apprehend any impediment on the part of (the) government" (77).

But these tendencies were not expressed in official educational policies of any lasting significance. There seems to be no evidence that the 1833 Committee had any more direct effect than its predecessors of 1826 and 1827 had had on the formulation of a national policy, or the organisation of a school system. Indeed, there is no indication that it ever functioned. Moreover, soon after its nomination, one of its members, Ioannis Kokkonis, was appointed Superintendent of Antiquities in Syra (August 1833), and another, Constantinos Schinas, became, as mentioned, Secretary of State (October 1833). Furthermore, in February 1834 a basic Law on primary education was issued; it was fundamentally a translation of the French Law of 1833 (the Loi Guizot) with minor amendments following relevant Bavarian regulations. It should, however,

be noted in the present context that the Loi Guizot, despite its having been composed under the influence of the general Western-European educational tendencies of the time, derived from Victor Cousin's admiration for the Prussian system (78). Thus, far from transferring the French spirit into Greek education, the 1834 Law did in fact transplant German principles and practices. This piece of legislation was followed in April 1836 by a Law on Secondary Education; it, too, closely followed the equivalent Bavarian regulations. The apex of the pyramid was added in 1837 with the Law establishing the University in Athens, still on German patterns. It is significant of the exclusiveness of this German influence that a plan for the establishment and organisation of 'Hellenic' schools, gymnasia, and a University, prepared by Alexandros Rozos Rangavis, (another Phanariot, serving as a high administrator in the Ministry of Education) was ignored by his superiors; according to its originator it:

> "was written in French and formed a whole volume, in which I explained and examined (the issue) from all points of view, historically, comparatively, in relation to foreign countries and regarding the circumstances and needs of Greece" (79).

But if a return of English influences was not noticed at the policy-making level, and a more "international" approach to educational legislation was disregarded, the staffing of the Normal School, established in accordance

with the 1834 Law, points to a different direction: C.L. Korck, a German, but a former agent of the Church Missionary Society, was appointed as its Director and in this capacity automatically became also Inspector General of all primary schools. This was seen as "an omen for good" by the missionaries, but they were also aware of the strength of the opposing forces and remarked that:

> "It is possible, however, that more embarrassments will be experienced by the Missions than under the Turkish government" (80).

The future proved their fears to be justified, as will be seen; but at that time Georgios Constantinou (Constantinidis), the former student of the Borough Road School of the British and Foreign School Society, was appointed head of the Model School attached to the Normal School; his fellow-student in London, Leonidas Drakakis, also later became a teacher at the Model School. Anastasios Erkoulidis, previously employed by Jonas King, was also appointed to teach at the Normal School. It is significant that of the four teachers appointed at this school in 1834, only one, Michael Apostolidis, had no previous record of contacts with the English or the Americans (81). Apostolidis, a clergyman at that time employed as teacher of the young King Otho, was from the very beginning opposed to Korck's appointment. Moreover, the Greek Church, which had declared its independence from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, adopted a very hostile attitude towards the Protestant

missionaries, which was manifested in the issue in September 1835 of an encyclical specifically directed against the missionary schools (82), referring explicitly to C.L. Korck, who eventually, as reported by Constantinou:

> "unable to resist any longer the intrigues of this jealous rivals, gave in his resignation (...) which His Majesty has been prevailed upon to accept (...). He is succeeded by Mr. Kokkonis (...). I have not much against the man, but he is far, yes too far, inferior to his predecessor, both in education and liberality (...). And now I must confine myself to that (method) of Saazin, of which Mr. Kokkonis is a great admirer" (83).

Korck's resignation was accepted on 2 October 1835, just twenty months after his appointment, and can be considered to be the end of any major non-German foreign influence in Greek education. The reappearance on the scene of Kokkonis demonstrates the return to Capodistrian attitudes of educational isolationism, as well as the definite abandonment of the more liberal attitudes of the War-time period. A gradual elimination of the few missionaries still active in the field of education followed, marked by varying degrees of hostility.

In Syra the German Friedrich Hildner, agent of the Church Missionary Society, was initially allowed to pursue the running of his schools freely. They were even visited by King Otho who "expressed great satisfaction at what he witnessed", and later the Society increased the number

of its agents stationed in Syra (84). But in order to continue their educational activities the missionaries had to satisfy as much as possible the requirements of the Greek Church, and conform to strict government regulations. It was reported in the Missionary Herald in 1836 that:

> "The laws of Greece are framed so as to bring the whole mind of the nation under the immediate directing agency and control of the civil and ecclesiastical government. No school, public or private, can be established without its permission. No teacher can instruct, even in private families, except with permission from the government" (85).

In Athens the American John Hill had to conform in order to be allowed to run his school; thereafter, the government expressed in a number of ways its satisfaction with his work (86). However, this survival of Hildner's and Hill's establishments had significance only for the quality of teaching, not for its spirit and content, since these were determined in detail by the Ministry of Education. On the other hand, not all foreigners active in education were allowed to offer even these restricted services. Among the most important, Jonas King, whose career, uniting education with evangelism more obviously than any one else's, was marked by a series of trials, had closed all his schools by 1838 (87). In this context, it should be remembered that this combined religious and

educational intolerance led also to the prosecution in 1839 of Theofilos Kairis, the distinguished liberal Greek scholar who had strong foreign (especially British) connections, and had developed an important educational undertaking independent of governmental regulations (88).

* * *

These changes in education were not isolated; they formed part of a general fundamental cultural transformation which the new nation was undergoing. Its dominant philosophical feature was the Bavarian neo-classicism, imported with the Court; it found fertile ground in a country with a glorious past struggling to regain her identity, and it had been encouraged by the vision of a revivial of ancient Greek civilisation, one of the main guiding forces of the philhellenic movement. But at the same time this turn towards ancestral values created a gap between official educational policy and the real character and needs of the newly independent state, while the domination of German influences deprived it of opportunities of exploiting some other aspects of philhellenism such as the spirit of the Englightenment coming mainly from France, and the principles of

Utilitarianism deriving from Britain.

On the other hand, as socio-economic tendencies were being formulated in the new country, education played an increasingly important role in their development. For this reason it was immediately called upon to serve the combined aims of the traditionalist elements within the social, political and ecclesiastical forces which controlled the country after the end of the War of Independence. Despite the fact that the system established under German influence by the legislation of 1834-1837 was clearly reminiscent in its external characteristics of the plan proposed by the 1824 Committee under French and British influences, there was no similarity in the ideals which inspired them. The disparity which the Capodistrian era had created between the educational policy of the government and the expectations of the people had been made permanent by the system established by the Othonian administration.

N O T E S

The following principles have been generally followed in this section:

(a) The notes of each chapter or section have been numbered independently; for the convenience of the reader the chapter or section to which the notes refer is indicated in the following pages on the left of the page-number.

(b) Abbreviated forms of titles are given for works included in the Bibliography. The Elliniki Vivliographia (1800-1863), by D.Ginis and V.Mexas, is indicated throughout by "Ginis-Mexas" and the accompanying figures refer to the entry numbers and not the pages. "BFSSR" signifies British and Foreign School Society annual Report.

(c) The first names of authors are indicated only when more than one writer of the same name appears in the Bibliography.

(d) References with page-numbers in brackets indicate pagination by letters of the Greek alphabet in the original Greek text.

(e) Numbers in brackets following the date of publication indicate the edition.

(f) For the transliteration of Greek names and titles, see the note on p.8 above.

INTRODUCTION

As the basic arguments presented in the Introduction are fully discussed in the following pages of this study, these notes are mainly restricted to references and bibliographical annotations.

(1) The early limit of the history of the Modern Greek state has been variously placed, apart from 1821, at 1828 (Arrival of President Capodistrias), 1830 (Protocol of London), 1832 (Treaty of Constantinople), 1833 (Arrival of King Otho), 1843 (Granting of a Constitution); see, e.g., D. Zakythinos, I Politiki Istoria.

(2) The impact of the War of Independence on Greek cultural developments is fully discussed in C.Th. Dimaras, Istoria. See, also, Angelou, Oi Logioi. On the Enlightenment, see, e.g., C.Th. Dimaras, La Grèce au Temps des Lumières.

(3) This is the case with such "established" manuals on the history of modern Greek education as Isigonis; Moraitis; Lefas; and Papadimitriou (the last two start their surveys only at 1833).

(4) M. Duverger, Introduction to the Social Sciences, London, 1964, p.62; (translated from the French (Méthodes des Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1961) by M. Anderson).

(5) Durkheim, L'Evolution Pédagogique en France, p.21

(6) The existence of these two tendencies is illustrated in C.Th. Dimaras, Istoria, and M. Triantafyllidis, Neoelliniki Grammatiki, vol.I, (literature and language); Petropulos, Politics and Statecraft (politics).

(7) See, in particular, Kipper, Geschichte, and Alexis Dimaras, Post-War Educational Reform.

(8) Topics mentioned in this and the next paragraph are covered by such works as Dakin, British and American Philhellenes; Woodhouse, The Philhellenes; St.Clair, That Greece Might Still Be Free; Vaporis, op.cit.; Shaw, American Contacts; and general treatises on missionary activity in the Mediterranean such as Stock; Lovett; Wilson; etc.

(9) Cf. the remark made by the Metropolitan Ignatios of Oungro-Wallachia, an eminent ecclesiastic and closely associated with the leaders of the War, in a letter to the Greek Deputies in London (dated Pisa, 22 April 1824), in which he comments that although English policies were not favourable towards them at the beginning,

"now the Greeks, rejected and abandoned by the other Powers of Europe, see for the first time only this big Force (England) showing some sympathy and not agreeing in their destruction" (Archeia Kountourioti, vol.II, p.258).

Cf. also, this opinion expressed by a Greek to the Rev. Charles Swan (Journal, vol. II, p.213) in September 1825:

> "The Greeks, he said, would not be led by them (the French); but the English they would follow to the death."

Swan concludes: "The same sentiment, whether true or false, I have frequently heard expressed." Cf. the significant pamphlet La Grèce deviendrat-elle Anglaise? published anonymously in Paris in 1825. Regarding English influences it should be remembered that in Russia, too, towards which some Greek hopes were directed, there was at the time an "enthusiasm for English educational ideas" (Hollingworth, Lancasterian Schools, p.59). It should, however, be noted that Anglo-Greek contacts and cultural influences at the time must have been hindered by the rarity of English-speaking Greeks, noted by such careful observers as Stanhope (Greece, p.48) Anderson (Observations, p.243). It should also be remembered that in February 1824 at Kranidi, then the seat of the Executive Body, no one knew English, and letters and newspapers had to be sent to Ydra to be translated (Archeia Kountourioti, vol.II, p.99). Cochrane (Wanderings, passim).

(10) Throughout this study the terms progressive and traditionalist are used to designate two distinct tendencies in Greek culture and education. The terms are not intended as value judgements.

(11) See note (1) to chapter VI below.

(12) Even where monographs do exist they usually tend to treat their subjects in isolation; this is, for instance, the case with Ch. Oikonomos, O Korais; Velelis, O Capodistrias; Amariotou, Io.P.Kokkonis. On the other hand comprehensive accounts of "facts and figures" (such as those given by Dimakopoulos, I Dioikitiki Organosis, or Lefas, Istoria) in an attempt to be "objective" also lack comparisons and interpretations.

(13) This approach made some repetitions and overlappings to seem necessary and useful. It has also led to an increased number of cross-references to be found in the text itself as well as in the notes.

* * *

CHAPTER II

(1) In a letter to J. Bowring dated Mesolongi 16 December 1823 (Stanhope, Greece, p.40).

(2) See, for instance, Belia, I Ekpaidefsis, p.15; Moraitis, Istoria, p.268; Isigomis, Istoria, p.223. See, in particular, the article by P.K. Georgoutsos in the second edition of the Megali Elliniki Engyklopaideia (vol.X, pp.628 ff.).

(3) On his place in Greek literature, see C.Th. Dimaras, Istoria; in the history of Greek language, see Triantafyllidis, Neoelliniki Grammatiki, vol.I. See also Evangelidis, I Paideia, vol.I, p.XCVII.

(4) Moisiodax published in Venice in 1779 a Pragmateia peri Paidon Agogis which draws mainly from Locke's Some Thoughts concerning Education (1693); see E. Kriaras, "I 'Paidagogia' tou Moisiodakos kai i schesi tis me to paidagogiko syngramma tou Locke" in Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher, vol.XVII (1943), pp.135 ff.; and N. Vostantzis, Paidagogikai ideai Iosipou tou Moisiodakos, Athens, 1941. It is interesting in this respect to note that in 1800 another Greek Paidagogia was published (in Vienna, by Gavriel Kallonas) which also closely follows Locke's Some Thoughts. On Moisiodax in general see Henderson, The Revival; and C.Th. Dimaras, op.cit.

(5) C.Th. Dimaras, ibid. See also Henderson, op.cit.

(6) On philosophy, see E.P. Papanoutsos, Neoelliniki Filosofia, (2 vols.), Athens, 1953-1957; on education see Alexis Dimaras, Neoelliniki Ekpaidefsis.

(7) See, generally, Henderson, op.cit.; and C.Th. Dimaras op.cit. See also Ch. Oikonomos, O Korais, which, however, is an anthology of Korais' pedagogical views rather than an analysis of them.

(8) Metakenosis literally means "pouring from one vessel into another" (Henderson, op.cit., p.143).

(9) See, particularly, Evangelidis, op.cit.

(10) The issue is covered in Dakin, The Unification.

(11) The history of these schools is given in detail in Evangelidis op.cit. See also Isigonis, op.cit., pp. 205 ff. A widely used source for the biographies of scholars considered in this and the following pages is A. Goudas, Vioi Paralliloi. A deeply-studied and comprehensive account of the period and personalities is given by C.Th. Dimaras op.cit.; and Henderson, op.cit.

(12) On the relationship between Vamvas and Korais, see, in particular, C.Th. Dimaras, Dyo Filoi.

(13) The issue is fully discussed in Vaporis, The Controversy.

(14) Henderson, op.cit., p.139. Henderson (pp.117 ff.) gives a general appreciation of Lesvios' contribution to Greek culture and education. See also p.119 below.

(15) On Kairis see D. Paschalis, Theofilos Kairis, Athens, 1928 (the quotation here is from p.52); and Aik. Coumarianou, "I Eleftherofrosyni tou Theofilou Kairi," in Epoches, No.46 (1967). Let it be noted in passing that Kairis was among the scholars most respected by foreigners who had visited him in Ayvalik (cf. The Orphan Asylum at Andros in Greece Instituted and Conducted by The Rev. Theophilus Kairis, London, 1838, where on a list of Subscriptions and Donations appear many distinguished Englishmen among whom the Lord Bishop of London, Lord Barham, William Allen, as well as a substantial contribution by the Society of Friends). See also pp. 272-273 below.

(16) See L.I. Vranousis, Athanasios Psalidas, o Didaskalos tou Genous, Ioannina, 1952; and Henderson, op.cit.

(17) Stanhope, op.cit., p.82.

(18) On Dutrône see below pp. 203 ff.

(19) See Clogg, The 'Dhidhaskalia Patriki'.

(20) See, in general, C.Th. Dimaras, Istoria.

(21) On Koumas see Henderson, op.cit.; and Isigonis, op.cit.

(22) The quotation is from the title page.

(23) Gennadios' biography is given in detail in Anastasiadis, Georgiou Gennadiou Vios.

(24) p.6.

(25) vol.IV, p.385.

(26) The introduction, spread and development of the method in Greece has not yet been fully investigated, though particular aspects of the issue have been dealt with, especially in relation to its more active propagators (see, for instance, G.K. Sakkas, Georgios Cleovoulos; Amariotou, Io.P. Kokkonis). See also V. Papageorgiou, "I Allilodidaktiki Methodos kai i Eisagogi tis eis tin Ellada" in Epetiris Dimotikis Ekpaidefseos, vol.I (1932), pp.286 ff. Frequent reference to the matter is also made in the following pages of this chapter and elsewhere in this study.

(27) Politis was for a time Inspector of the Lancasterian schools in the Ionian Islands. For his biography see Vovolinis, Viografikon Lexikon, vol.II, p. 482. See also p. 128 below; and Vretos, Memoires, vol.I, p.137. A comprehensive history of education in the Ionian Islands is given by Sp. Deviazis "I Ekpaidefsis en Eptaniso" in Ethniki Agogi, vol.VIII (1904), pp.6 ff. The Annual Reports of the British and Foreign School Society, as well as the unpublished archives of the

Church Missionary Society in London, provide abundant information on this matter for the period after 1820.

(28) Logios Ermis, 1819, p.31. This letter, addressed to A.M.P. (most probably Athanasios Politis), more than any other document, appears to have become the main source for Greek writers dealing with the method. It is interesting to note that the description published in 1816 is based on Lasteyrie's Nouveau Système, Paris, 1815. For a brief account of the character of the Logios Ermis see C. Coumarianou, "Cosmopolitisme et Hellénisme dans le 'Mercure Savant', première revue Grecque" in Proceedings of the IVth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association, Paris, 1966, pp.601 ff.

(29) A Greek translation of Hume's speech was published in G.Koaki Typaldos, Epistoli pros ton Ch. Emmanouil Salteli, Paris, 1818, pp.60 ff. See also Sakkas, op.cit., pp.16 ff.

(30) The quotation is from C.Th. Dimaras, op.cit., p.155. The text of the Nomarchia, with a lengthy introduction, has been published by G. Valetas, (Athens, 1957 (2)). See also Henderson, op.cit., pp.159 ff.

(31) On Rigas, in general, see L.I. Vranousis' introduction to the relevant volume of the Vasiki Vivliothiki (vol.X, Athens, 1953); and Giannis

Kordatos, Rigas Feraios kai i Valkaniki Omospondia, Athens, 1945. See also Clogg, op.cit., p.90.

(32) On the cultural background of the Phanariots and for a more general appreciation of their character see C.Th. Dimaras, "Peri Fanarioton" in Archeion Thrakis, vol.XXXIV (1969), pp.117 ff. See also p.267 below.

(33) For a mention that Negris (who was on his way to Paris as representative of the Porte when he joined the Greeks at the outbreak of the War) had had a "small but choice library" in Greece, see Finlay, History, vol.VI, p.290. The fact that Mavrokordatos (who left France for Greece to help the cause) also possessed a library is mentioned in a letter (21 February 1824) from Jeremy Bentham to Leicester Stanhope (Bentham Mss.,XII, 196).

(34) The letter is addressed to the Swiss millionaire and philhellene J.-G. Eynard (22 August 1826) in Tombazis, Adelfoi Tombazi, Athens, 1902, pp.180 ff.

(35) Geniki Efimeris (20 July 1829). The owner was from Smyrna, and the book "Filarchos kai Fyxarchos" or Peri ton Ellinikon Symferonton - Dialogos Dyo Graikon, originally an introduction to Plutarch's Politika Parangelmata, and published separately under a pseudonym in Ydra in 1825. It is, significantly, a text of highly democratic and liberal aspirations.

(36) Missionary Register, 1839, p.373. The traveller was the Rev. J.T. Wolters of the Church Missionary Society, and the book most probably one of the many editions of the Fyllada tou Megalou Alexandrou.

(37) See, however, Iliou, Pour une étude quantitative du public des lecteurs Grecs; and C.Th. Dimaras, Istoria, pp.112-118.

(38) See, for instance, Anderson, Observations, p.241. In 1836, however, the Rev. L.W. Pease noted that in Athens there were "several book-stores of a tolerably respectable character" (Missionary Herald, 1831, p.411).

(39) The decision on the 100 copies is recorded in the minutes of the Legislative Assembly for 15 April 1824 (Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, pp.264-265); the way in which they were to be distributed in Ellinika Chronika (26 July 1824). James Emerson, who visited Greece in 1825, says that the O Filos tou Nomou of Ydra was printed in 500 copies (A Picture, vol.I, p.135), but also comments on the "very few" newspapers read in the country itself (ibid., pp.340-341). Cf. also the following comment by Waddington (A Visit, pp.173-174), who was generally very sceptical about any premature attempt to introduce "Western" practices into Greece:

"Publications addressed to persons incapable of understanding them, if they can be productive of no great utility, will at least do very little injury; and on this account, I believe the paper in question (Ellinika Chronika) to be nearly harmless."

On practical difficulties regarding the distribution of the newspapers see Geniki Efimeris (16 December 1825). The interest expressed by a German philhellene in the circulation of the O Filos tou Nomou in Europe and America is described in a letter from Lazaros Kountouriotis to his brother Georgios (17 April 1824) published in Archeia Kountourioti (vol.II, p.221) and reported in the O Filos tou Nomou (2 June 1824); cf. also Geniki Efimeris (31 July 1826). For a concise basic accouht of the issue see Coumarianou, O Typos, vol.I, pp. (77) ff; and on the circulation of ideas in the Ottoman Empire, Clogg, op.cit., p.87. It should be remembered in this context that for a considerable section of the population at that time, Albanian and not Greek was the mother tongue.

(40) The issue is discussed, with several examples, in Alexis Dimaras, "Ta Ekpaideftika kata ton Agona" (Nea Estia, vol.88, p.52). There is hardly a foreign visitor to Greece at that or later times who does not make remarks to this effect.

(41) The Rev. Charles Swan (Journal, passim) strongly insists that far too many Bibles were sent to Greece. St. Clair (That Greece Might Still Be Free, p.203) based on a remark by A. Slade (Records of Travels, vol.II, p.459), argues - though, it would seem, without enough evidence - that "there can be no doubt that the vast majority of Greek books sent by the missionaries went straight into personal armouries" for the making of cartridges.

The following remark made by the philhellene, Sir Charles James Napier, in 1821, could give an indication on the extent to which new concepts were spreading:

> "Every Greek peasant sees, and feels too, that the cause of the country is his own particular cause" (quoted by Ferriman, Napier, p.25).

(42) Such a statement was made by Dr. John D. Russ, agent of the Boston Greek Committee, who went to Greece in 1827 (quoted by Larrabee, Hellas, p.164).

(43) History, vol.VI, p.331.

(44) Ibid., pp.15-16.

(45) Researches in Greece, p.228. Cf. this entry in J. King's Journal: "In the opinion of Constantas (...) about one third of the inhabitants of the Morea and the Islands know how to read" (Missionary Register, 1829, p.506).

CHAPTER III; Section a

(1) For the texts of these Constitutions see, for instance, Svolos, Ta Ellinika Sytagmata, (pp.65 ff., 79 ff., 93 ff.); or other collections, such as Kyriakopoulos, Ta Syntagmata; Daskalakis, Keimena - Pigai (vol.I).

(2) vol.II, p.321.

(3) Letters, p.124; this remark refers to the 1827 Constitution; cf.; also, a similar observation made by Trikoupis (vol.IV, p.99) on the ineffectiveness of the Constitution.

(4) vol.VI, p.243, referring to the 1822 Constitution.

(5) Svolos, Ta Prota Ellinika Politevmata, p.741.

(6) F. Pouqueville, Histoire de la Régénération de la Grèce, Paris, 1824, vol.IV, p.312.

(7) Archeia Kountourioti, vol.II, p.297. (G. Kountouriotis was then President of the Executive Body). The letter obviously refers to the Constitution granted by the Emperor on 25 March 1824 (Joao Pandia Calogeras, A History of Brazil, (Chapel Hill, 1939, p.85); it:

> "turned Brazil into a highly centralised, unitary monarchy (...) (and), though it placed immense powers in the hands of the crown, in form, and perhaps in character, it was liberal enough" (The New Cambridge Modern History, vol.IX (C.W. Crawley ed.), p.632, Cambridge, 1965).

(8) On the Filiki Etairia, in general, see e.g. Filiki Etairia (Tasos Vourmas ed.) Athens, m.d., and Daskalakis, opcit., vol.I, pp.45 ff. (with basic bibliography); on its having been inspired by Rigas, see, for instance, Fotiardis, I Epanastasi, vol.I, pp. 267 ff. It is interesting to note that at least four of the twelve members of the drafting committee are among those who have been recorded as belonging to the Etairia (G. Ainian, Skylitsis, Omiridis Kolettis and Kanakaris).

(9) Apart from indirect influences which are related to general cultural contacts with France discussed in other parts of this study, let it be remembered that Negris and Mavrokordatos were certainly aware of developments in France; two more members of the drafting committee (Skylitsis Omiridis and Kolettis) are known for their relationship with France.

(10) Cf., for instance, Daniel Philippidis' (the "progressive" scholar and teacher) and Korais' admiration for the "Anglo-Americans"; as well as the fact that the tradition had developed for Greek young men to study in Universities in Italy and Germany. See also Henderson, The Revival, (passim).

(11) Das Griechische Volk, vol.II, pp.33-34.

(12) On Gallina, in general, see Dimakopoulos, I Dioikitiki Organosis (1), pp.88-89 (with comprehensive references) where the information given by M. Oikonomos (Istorika tis Ellinikis Palingenesias, Athens, 1873), that a Belgian Constitution had been used as a prototype is also questioned. That Gallina was an expert in these matters is mentioned by Daskalakis, op.cit., vol.I, p.282.

(13) Spiliadis, Apomnimonevmata, vol.I, p.272.

(14) See, e.g. Svolos, op.cit., p.740.

(15) Cf. Gallina's letter to Mavrokordatos (6 April 1823) on his departure from Greece (Istorikon Archeion Mavrokordatou, pt.III, pp.225-226). On his being awarded the commemorative medal see Archeia Palingenesias, vol.I, pp.91 and 153.

(16) Dimakopoulos, op.cit., p.232.

(17) Translated by P. Petridis and published in Dorfu. (Ginis-Mexas 1082).

(18) The titles of the Constitutions entered in the table are as follows:

Constitution Française du 3 Septembre 1791
Acte Constitutionnel du 24 Juin 1793
Constitution de la République Française du 5 Fructudor an 3
Nea Politiki Dioikisis by Rigas Velenstilis, Vienna 1797

Constitution de la République Française de 22 Frimaire an 8
Constitution Politica de la Monarquia Espanola (Cadiz, 1812)
Charte Constitutionnelle du 4 Juin 1814
Constitutional Charter of the United State of the Ionian Islands (2 May 1817)
Constituzione Politica del Regno delle Due Sicilie (Napoli, 1821)
Organismos tis Gerousias tis Dytikis Chersou Ellados (4 November 1821)
Nomiki Diataxis Anatolikis Chersou Ellados (15 November 1821)
Organismos tis Peloponnisiakis Gerousias (27 December 1821)
Prosorinon Politevma tis Ellados (1822)
Nomos tis Epidavrou (1823)

(19) Cf. the influence exercised in both countries by Thomas Paine, leader of the American Revolution who was elected member of the French Convention; he was "the author of the two most important public documents of the eighteenth century" (i.e. the American and French Rights of Man) (Hans, Comparative Education, p.186, where a wider comparison on this issue is to be found). See, also, more generally, John A. Hawgood, Modern Constitutions since 1787, London, 1939.

(20) On the relationship between constitutional provisions and Legislation at that time in France, see H.C. Barnard, Education and the French Revolution.

(21) Svolos, op.cit., pp.737 ff.

(22) L. Duguit and H. Monnier, Les Constitutions (...) de la France depuis 1789, Paris, 1898, p.68.

(23) L.I. Vranousis, Rigas, of the Vasiki Vivliothiki, vol.X, p.374.

(24) On the care of the Greek leadership not to be identified with other revolutionary European movements of the time (and particularly the French and the Carbonari) in order to avoid alienating the Holy Alliance, see, for instance, Coumarianou, O Typos, vol.I, P.(25); and Dimarkopoulos, op.cit., p.89. Cf., also, the fact that it was only the 1827 text which was called Syntagma (Constitution) while for the earlier ones the terms Prosorinon Politevma (Provisional Political Organisation) and Nomos (Law) had been used.

(25) The incident is described by G. Tertsetis (who recorded Kolokotronis' memoirs) in his O Geron Kolokotronis, (Athens, 1851, p.(33)). Evangelidis (I Pedeia, vol.II, p.219) says that the book in question was by Fredrich August Wolff, the philologist, but it was Christian, the philosopher, who was best known to the Greek scholars of that time (see, e.g., C.Th. Dimaras, Istoria, pp.133, and 539; and Henderson, The Revival, passim). Cf. also the interest shown in educational matters by another military leader, Odysseus Androutsos, who corresponded on the issue with Korais and Vamvas.

Generally on the relationship between the scholars and the military during the War, see, Angelou, Oi Logioi.

(26) Spiliadis, op.cit., vol.II. p.131.

(27) For the texts of these constitutional charters see Daskalakis, op.cit., vol.I, pp.222 ff.

(28) ibid. p.243.

(29) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.I, p.452.

(30) Daskalakis, op.cit. vol.III, pp.30 ff.

(31) Resolution 5 (Psifisma E) of 30 March 1823.

(32) On the issue of local responsibility for education during the years before the outbreak of the War see Evangelidis, opcit., passim (and especially his Introduction).

(33) Driauld, Histoire, vol.I, 170.

(34) op.cit., p.741.

(35) See, generally, Cubberley, Public Education, pp.84 ff.

(36) Cf., for instance, the appointment on 2 March 1822 by the Ministry of the Interior of a committee to study the re-establishment of a school in Dimitsana (for the document see Daskalakis, op.cit., vol.III, p.28). The change from local to central responsibility is also demonstrated by two documents regarding the

renumeration of the teacher in Tripolitsa (Neofytos Nikitoplos): by the first (dated 22 May 1822) it is the regional government which undertakes it, while the matter is dealt with by the Executive Body according to the second (dated 11 June 1823); the texts are published in Daskalakis, ibid., pp.1261-1262.

(37) These later developments are discussed in Alexis Dimaras, Neoelliniki Ekpaidefsis, p.32.

(38) Simioseis eis to Prosorinon Politevma tis Ellados, first published (with introduction and comments) by Th. Volidis (Athens, 1933).

(39) Cf. comments made by Sp. Paschalis Fillis (Patriotikai Skepseis, Corfu, 1865, p.14) who criticises the atheistic spirit which prevailed at the first and second National Assemblies and ascribes it to their being dominated by "the great followers" of Korais. Cf. also the participation in the drafting committee of the 1822 Constitution of Georgios Ainian and Skylitsis Omiridis, who were Korais' loyal disciples.

(40) This letter has not yet been found but its content is known by a summary of it which has been included by Korais in a letter to Mavrokordatos (23 September 1823: Apanta, vol.II, p.225; see also Daskalakis, O Korais kai i Eleftheria, p.322). A similar letter by Korais was read to the National Assembly on 10 January 1824 (Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.229).

(41) Apanta, vol.II, pp.356 ff.

(42) Ibid., p.218. In his reply Mavrokordatos accepts responsibility for all the weaknesses of the Constitution, thus implying that he compiled it himself. See also below, note (2) to section (b) of this chapter.

(43) For Ignatios' text see Protopsaltis, Ignatios, pt.I, pp.185 and 137-138; for Kodrikas' comments see Istorikon Archeion Mavrokordatou, pt.III, pp.15 ff.

(44) The letter of the Greek deputies (dated 14 February 1823) is among the Bentham Mss.(XII, 8). For a more detailed account of Bentham's involvement in Greek matters see Alexis Dimaras, "The Other Philhellenes", a contribution to the Seminar organised by King's College to mark the 150th anniversary of the Greek War of Independence (expected to be published in 1973). See also pp.66-67,135 and 212 ff. below.

(45) Archeia Ydras, vol.IX, pp.84 ff.

(46) The other member was Anagnostis Monarchidis.

(47) The other two members were Stefanos Kanellos, a liberally minded deputy who had studied in Germany, and Georgios Glarakis, who, as a scholar of the Vienna branch of the Philomuse Society had also studied in Germany and was later active in cultural societies.

(48) See p.46 above.

(49) Note, for instance, in the relevant section that while the clauses immediately preceding and following Article 87 start by "The government ...", it does not.

(50) loc.cit.

(51) On the mutual method, apart from general histories of education, see Binns, A Century; David Salmon, Joseph Lancaster, London, 1904; id., A Retrospect: Bell's Writings, London. 1915. For a detailed description of a school of the mutual method see C. Birchenough, History of Elementary Education in England and Wales, London, 1938 (3).

(52) They were Joseph Lancaster, Joseph Fox, and William Corston, who in 1808 formed a Society that was later to develop into the British and Foreign School Society; (see also, Frank Smith A History of English Elementary Education, 1760-1902, London, 1931, p.81).

(53) Ward, A Retrospect, p.137.

(54) Mainly in Sarah Trimmer, A Comparative View (etc.), London, 1805.

(55) Curtis, History, p.209.

(56) Apomnimonevmata, vol.I, p.76.

(57) Life, vol.II, p.91.

(58) Archeia Ydras, vol.VII, p.131.

(59) See pp.30-31 above; on Cleovoulos see also pp.198 ff. below.

(60) Article 1 of the statute of the Société (Journal d'Education), vol.I (1815), pp.33 ff.

(61) Buisson, Dictionnaire, article "Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire".

(62) For a full account of the Société's history (for which its periodical publications are the main source) see Gontard, L'Enseignement, pp.281 ff. and passim. See also the relevant article in Buisson, op.cit; and Ward, op.cit., pp.217 ff.

(63) Op.cit., p.377.

(64) Ward, op.cit., p.357.

(65) Ibid., p.289.

(66) See pp.196 ff. below.

(67) Hans, Policy, pp.45 ff.

(68) Ward, op.cit., p.287; this text toggther with Hollingworth, Lancasterian Schools, and Cohen Zacek, The Lancastrian School, fully cover the history of the Lancasterian schools in Russia. (Neither Hollingworth nor Cohen Zacek seem to have used Ward or the Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society). See also D. Salmon "A Russian Report on the Monitorial System" in The Educational Record, vol.XIX (1916), pp.295 ff.

(69) Hollingworth, op.cit., p.63.

(70) Ibid.

(71) Quoted ibid., p.64.

(72) Cohen Zacek, op.cit., p.359.

(73) Ward, op.cit., p.493.

(74) For developments in the United States of America see D. Salmon, "The Lancasterian System in the United States" in The Educational Record vol.XIX (1916) pp.562 ff.; see also John F. Reigart, The Lancastrian System of Instruction in the Schools of New York City, Columbia University, 1916.

(75) See, mainly, Ward, op.cit., and Binns, op.cit.

(76) For developments in Switzerland see also Bovet, Ecoles Nouvelles. On influences from Germany see pp. 29-30 above.

(77) W.Alison Phillips, The War of Greek Independence, London, 1897, p.226.

(78) See, for instance, Svolos, op.cit., p.741.

(79) Jarman, Landmarks, p.215.

(80) Hans, op.cit., p.61.

(81) Prost, L'Enseignement, p.26. Dimakopoulos (I Dioikitiki Orgamosis (II) p.81) suggests that the Greek Secretariat was established in direct imitation of the French one; see, however, not (83) below.

(82) Apanta ta Prototypa, vol.I, pt.I, p.399.

(83) Ibid., pp.122 ff. It is, further, very interesting that the association of Justice and Education under the responsibility of the same Secretary of State (not to be found among the most important possible prototypes of the Greek Constitution) had been suggested by Korais in 1826 in his introduction to Lykourgou, Logos kata Leokratous, (Paris), p.(89).

(84) See, for instance, Svolos, op.cit.

(85) See note (44) above.

(86) C.W. Everett, "The Constitutional Code of Jeremy Bentham" in Jeremy Bentham, Bicentenary Celebrations, London, 1948, p.16.

(87) Works, vol.IX, p.441.

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CHAPTER III; Section b

(1) Such are the measures taken to establish civil courts, and further, beyond the constitutional provisions, the private and governmental preoccupation with the establishment of a postal service, libraries, newspapers, and the protection of antiquities. These were only indirectly related to the War effort itself, or to the attempt to demonstrate the ability of the Greeks to run their own country effectively.

(2) In addition to what has been said in the previous pages regarding Korais' influence in these matters, some indications that his authority was generally recognised should be mentioned here. Thus, apart from his correspondence with leaders of the state (such as Mavrokordatos, G. Kountouriotis, Odysseus Androutsos, or with the Deputies in London etc.), and the frequent references to him im the Greek newspapers, it is worthi noting that his name was given to one of the towers of the wall in Mesolongi (another was named after Byron). Further, the Executive Body decided on 10 March 1825 to buy a number of Korais' books every year "because with his publications he greatly benefits the Greek youth" (Daskalakis, Keimena-Pigai, vol.III, p.83). Cf., also, the letter addressed to him by the National Assembly (9 April 1827) in which he is praised for his contribution to the "enlightenment of Greece"

(Mamoukas, Ta Kata tin Anagennisin, vol.VIII, p.62). See also Daskalakis, O Korais kai i Eleftheria. Cf. advice sent by K. Polychroniadis from Pisa to G. Praidis (of Mavrokordatos' circle) in Mesolongi (2/14 November 1821) to employ in teaching some eminent teachers such as Constantas, Veniamin (Lesvios) Karre and Psalidas who, as he had heard, remained idle among the Greek leaders (Archeiom Mavrokordatou, pt. I p.80).

(3) See, for instance advice given by the Greek Deputies in London: "The people here are more inclined towards (our) nation by a decision of the Greek government aiming at the enlightenment and education of Greece, than by a victory against the enemy" (in a letter to the Primates of Ydra, Spetses and Psara, dated London, 16 April 1824; in Archeion Ydras, vol.X, p.104). See also p.138 below.

(4) Farmakidis, Apologia, p.212.

(5) Spiliadis, Apomnimonevmata, vol.II, p.476; Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.61.

(6) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, pp.93, 95-96, 105, 110, 515.

(7) Farmakidis, op.cit., p.8.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.323.

(10) See pp.81 ff. below.

(11) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.515.

(12) The short biographical notes given in this section on officials and members of the various committees are restricted to aspects directly related to the topic, and derive mainly from the relevant articles in current issues of Greek encyclopedias, except when otherwise stated. Here the following have also been used: Farmakidis, Apologia; C.Th. Dimaras, Istoria; Coumarianou, O Typos vol.I; Balanos, Theoklitos Farmakidis. See also Vaporis, The Controversy, pp.117 ff.

(13) For these invitations (January, March, September 1824), see the works listed in the previous note. Even earlier, on 1 December 1823, he had been invited by G. Praidis (of the immediate circle of Mavrokordatos) to return to direct "a newspaper planned by Byron" (Archeion Mavrokordatou, pt.III, p.756).

(14) Missionary Register, 1825, p.584.

(15) In a letter to J. Bowring, dated Athens, 20 March 1824 (Stanhope, Greece, p.114).

(16) See Coumarianou, op.cit., vol.I, passim and especially pp.(22)-(23), (70) ff.

(17) On Farmakidis' important role in establishing the independence of the Greek Church, see, more specifically, Frazee, Greek Orthodox Church.

(18) On this point see Coumarianou, op.cit., p.(22).

(19) See p.141 below.

(20) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.345.

(21) The letter is published in Daskalakis, Keimena-Pigai, vol.III, p.66.

(22) Soave: original published 1791; translation 1804. Konstantas' short biographical notes here are based mainly on the following: Sperantzas, O Constantas; Kamilaris, Grigoriou Constanta Viographia; C.Th. Dimaras, Istoria; id. Grigorios Constantas.

(23) The document (dated 29 August 1824) is published by Sperantzas, op.cit., p.20.

(24) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.403; O Filos tou Nomou, 20 Jan. 1825; Daskalakis, op.cit., pp.22 ff.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Count Giuseppe Pecchio (1785-1835), the Milanese man of letters, who had been sent to Greece in April 1825 by the Greek Deputies to accompany an instalment of the Loan. He was acquainted with Blaquiere who had written introductions to his books on Spain (Anecdotes of the Spanish and Portuguese Revolution, London, 1823; and Journal of Military and Political Events in Spain, id. 1824). He maintained his interest in

education in Greece and extended it to South America; to help these countries he collaborated with the Société pour L'Instruction Elémentaire (see, for instance, Journal d'Education, vol.XVIII, (1825-1826), pp.202 and 240 ff., vol.XIX (1826-1827), p.18, vol.XX (1827-1828), p.79 etc.). Constantas' Report appeared in Pecchio's Relazione, pp.137 ff.; an English translation, from which quotations are given in this study, see in Emerson, A Picture vol.II, pp.161 ff.

(29) The documents are published in Daskalakis, op.cit., pp.67 and 68.

(30) On Cleovoulos see pp.30-31 above. On Constantas' relationship with Cleovoulos see Sperantzas, op.cit., passim. That he asked Gennadios to serve at the state school in Argos, see the latter's letter to General Gouras (dated Athens, 30 January 1825) in Daskalakis, op.cit., 79. See also Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.407.

(31) On Constantinou see pp.165 ff. below.

(32) Sperantsas, op.cit., passim; see also Chapter VI below.

(33) See pp.96 ff. below.

(34) Sperantsas, op.cit., pp.87 ff.

(35) On the Grand Maître see, for instance Prost, Histoire, p.26. It is very significant in this respect that K. Polychroniadis, in a letter from Pisa (1/13 November 1823) to Mavrokordatos, whose friend he was, announces the appointment of Mgr. Frayssinous to the post of Grand Maître, using for it the term eforos (Archeion Mavrokordatou, pt.III, p.570).

(36) On the American Superintendents, the first of whom was appointed in New York in 1812, see, for instance, Cubberley, Public Education, pp.214 ff.

(37) The term Eforos had long been used to designate managers of schools, agents and executives of societies etc. See, for instance, Evangelidis, I Paideia, passim; Daskalakis, op.cit., passim; etc.

(38) On the French Committees, see Barnard, Education and the French Revolution.

(39) Ibid., p.102.

(40) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.297.

(41) Ellinika Chronika, 3 May 1824:

"I am surprised (...) that the government has not issued a decree regarding the foundation of schools, or at least, has not voted (for the appointment of) an Eforos for National Education."

Similarly Vamvas has stressed the importance of education in a letter he addressed on 14 April 1824 to G. Koundouriotis (Archeia Kountourioti, vol.II, pp.232-233). It should be noted that Vamvas was still at that time on good terms with Farmakidis (see Vaporis, op.cit., p.105), the first Eforos, who had abandoned the post some months earlier (see p.70 above).

(42) The term Academy (Akadimia) was generally used at that time in Greek as a synonym for University. This definition, however, does not apply to the private plan for the establishment of an Academy mentioned here (see also pp.117 ff. below).

(43) Lord Guilford's Ionian Academy (= University) was officially inaugurated on 29 May 1824 (see Papadopoulo-Vretos, Notizie; and Ferriman, Lord Guilford). A significant indication of the fact that in Greece the Ionian Academy was considered to be a Greek institution is the reaction expressed in the Geniki Efimeris (2 January 1826) to the news that the next year there would be only one professor of Ancient Greek instead of the three of the previous year: "In a Greek Academy we consider Greek culture to be the first subject."

(44) On the Philomuse Society, see pp.104 ff. Below.

(45) That Gazis was the president of the Committee is apparently mentioned only by Dragoumis (Istorikai Anamniseis, pt.III, p.207). Kougeas ("Peri tis kata tin Epanastasin Schediastheisis Akadimias" in Praktika tis Akadimias Athinon, vol.IX (1934), pt.III, p.19) says that the Committee's plan was submitted to the Legislative Body by Spyridon Trikoupis, without, however, stating the source of this information. Referring to the appointment of the Committee the minutes of the Legislative Body (Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.297) give Gazis' name first, and Trikoupis' fourth; they appear in that same order in the O Filos tou Nomou (25 July 1824) where the summary of the Committee's Report was published. On Gazis' place in Greek cultural history, see C.Th. Dimaras, Istoria; on his early administrative functions, see Dimakopoulos, I Dioikitiki Organosis (1), passim.

(46) On his place in Greek cultural history, see C.Th. Dimaras, op.cit. On his relationship with Blaquiere and the philhellenes, see Woodhouse, The Philhellenes, and Archeia Palingenesias vol.II, passim. That he served at the English consulate in Patras, see Coumarianou, op.cit., p.(62); on his relationship with Guilford, see Woodhouse, The Story, p.126.

(47) These biographical notes derive mainly from Kougeas ("I proti Metafrasis tis Ifigenias ton Goethe" in Ellinika (Athens), vol.V (1932), pp.376 ff.,) and G. Gazis, Lexikon, p.87. See also Koukou, O Kapodistrias, passim. For an indication of his support for the freedom of the press, see Geniki Efimeris, (3 March 1826). His age here is assumed from that of his fellow-scholars of the Philomuse Society.

(48) For evidence of his interest in the school of Argos, see a letter published in Daskalakis, op.cit., p.82.

(49) Regarding contacts with England it is perhaps significant that three members of this Committee (Notaras, Trikoupis, Liveropoulos) were among the few Greek officials who dined with Captain Hamilton on the Cambrian on 26 May 1825 (Swan, Journal, vol.II, p.28).

(50) The investigation is mentioned in a letter (26 May 1824) by the Abbot of the monastery of Argos (Daskalakis, op.cit., p.43); the financial survey is mentioned in the letter (11 July 1824) addressed by the Legislative to the Executive Body, (ibid., p.47).

(51) Rovani, Storia, pp.43-44.
The summary published by the O Filos tou Nomou was included by Dragoumis in his Istorikai Anamniseis, pt.III, pp.207 ff. Daskalakis (op.cit., p.47) believes

that a "Plan for the Organisation of Public Education" bearing no date or signature, to be found in the General State Archives in Athens, "must be considered with certainty to be the one prepared by the 1824 Committee", but he gives no arguments to support this assumption. A close comparison of this text with the summary published in the O Filos tou Nomou seems to render this identification doubtful. It is, on the other hand, interesting to note that Eleni Belia, who had published the same text earlier (Anekdotos Pinax), suggested (p.8) that "it must have been prepared and submitted between November 1829, i.e. shortly after the appointment of the Committees on education (by Capodistrias) and September 1831 (when Capodistrias was assassinated)".

(52) Hans, Comparative Education, p.182.

(53) On Lord Guilford's Ionian Academy, see note (43) above. It should be noted, in passing, that Paris at that time had five faculties (Theology, Law, Medicine, Sciences, Letters); see, for instance, Aigrain, Histoire, p.82.

(54) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, pp.310 and 345.

(55) The documents are published in Daskalakis, op.cit., p.47; see also note (57) below.

(56) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.370.

(57) O Filos tou Nomou, (9 January 1825). See also Dimakopoulos, Kodix Thespismaton, pp.22 ff. where a full account of the affair of the school at Argos is given.

(58) Mamoukas, op.cit., vol.IV, pp.63 and 130; see also Geniki Efimeris (1 May 1826). The members of the Committee were Agamemnon Avgerinos, G.(or N.)I. Velissarios, I. Dassiou, K. Zotos, I. Vassileiou.

(59) Quoted by Dakin, British and American Philhellenes, p.147.

(60) Mamoukas, op.cit., vol.IV, p.85. For subsequent applications for the implementation of this decision, see Geniki Efimeris (23 November 1827), and Daskalakis (application of 4 April 1828), op.cit., pl 163.

(61) Mamoukas, op.cit., vol.VIII, pp.16-17.

(62) Ibid.

(63) Geniki Efimeris loc.cit.

(64) The appointment of this Permanent Committee may explain the fact that Emmanouel Vernardos did not include a Committee on Education among the 13 Permanent Committees which on the same day he proposed that the Legislative Body should appoint (ibid). The other members of the Committee were Drosos N. Drosos (who later supported the "English" party in Athens),

Zacharias Panagiotidis, Anagnostis Kondakis. On Didaskalou's plan, see Geniki Efimeris (19 November 1827). It should be noted in passing that at this time in Greece surnames were usually derived from father's name or occupation; hence Anagnostis Didaskalou must have been the son of a teacher.

(65) The application is published in Daskalakis, op.cit., p.140; the decision of the Legislative Body in Geniki Efimeris (loc.cit.).

(66) Ibid., (18 January 1828).

(67) An example of such a reference is to be found in the same issue of the Geniki Efimeris.

(68) Dimakopoulos, "Ai Kyvernitikai Archai tis Ellinikis Politeias (1827-1833)" in Eranistis, vol.IV (1966), No 21/22, p.148; see also pp.63-64 above.

(69) Dimakopoulos, I Dioikitiki Organosis (1), pp.99-100. On France see, for instance, Hunkin, Enseignement et Politique, p.57.

(70) The document is published in Daskalakis, op.cit., p.88. Cf. also that a teacher's certificate dated 18 September 1825 is countersigned by Agathonikos Miltiadis, General of the Ministry of Religion (Evangelidis, op.cit., p.CXXIII).

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(71) A. Rizos Rangavis, Apomnimonevmata, vol.I, p.258. Probably soon after his arrival, Soutzos addressed a letter to Mavrokordatos (Nafplion, 21 October 1823) which reveals that he was both ambitious and a flatterer (Archeion Mavrokordatou, pt.III, pp.557 ff.) On Soutzos appointment as Secretary of State, see Dimakopoulos, Ai Kyvernitikai Archai, loc.cit. See also E. Rizos Rangabe, Livre d'Or della Noblesse Phanariote, Athens, 1902 (2), p.219. This Michael Soutzos must not be confused with Prince Michael Soutzos (Michael Vodas), later official Representative of Greece in Paris etc., who at that time was imprisoned in Austria and then collaborated with Eynard in Switzerland.

(72) In a letter recommending Soutzos to G. Kountouriotis, dated 11 June 1824 (Archeia Kountourioti, vol.II, p.434). See also a similar letter (28 April 1824), ibid., p.249; and the one referred to in note (71) above.

(73) On his difficulties with the Athenians see, for instance, Efimeris ton Athinon, 14 April 1825; and Vlachogiannis (ed.) Archeia tis Neoellinikis Istorias, vol.I, pp.300, 400, 443. See also letters he wrote to this effect to G. Kountouriotis, President of the Executive Body (Archeia Kountourioti, vol.III, pp.277, 344, 439). After his service in Athens, Soutzos acted

as special adviser to the Drafting Committee of the 1827 Constitution (Dimakopoulos, I Dioikitiki Organosis (II), p.30).

(74) For his appointment in Santorini, see Geniki Efimeris (24 November 1828) and Daskalakis, op.cit., p.198 (14 May 1829). For his appointment as Secretary of the Senate, see Dimakopoulos, op.cit., p.135.

(75) Ellinika Chronika (2 October 1824).

(76) 15 September 1824; see Vlachogiannis, op.cit., p.320

(77) Correspondence du Comte J. Capodistrias, vol.I, p.556.

(78) For instance, Chassiotis, L'Instruction, p.135; Moraitis, Istoria, p.268; Isigonis, Istoria, p.223.

(79) Among others: Chassiotis loc.cit.; Moraitis, loc.cit.; Kipper, Geschichte, p.20; Belia, I Ekpaidefsis, p.15. See also Papadopoulo-Vretos, Mémoires, vol.I, p.110.

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CHAPTER III; Section c

(1) On the Philomuse Society generally see Protopsaltis, Nea Stoicheia; and Koukou, O Capodistrias. See also Dimakopoulos, Kodix Thespismaton, pp.24-25 for further bibliography.

(2) Article 3 of the Statutes of the Society, published by Kambouroglous, Mnimeia tis Istorias ton Athinon, vol.I, p.216.

(3) The full list of the 1814 members is published ibid., pp.217 ff.

(4) Lord Guilford's letter referring to the Presidency, first published in the Logios Ermis, is to be found also in Kambouroglous, op.cit., pp.228-229.

(5) This association, involving the alleged participation in the Filiki Etairia of Capodistrias who later played a role in the Philomuse Society is discussed in C.M. Woodhouse, "Kapodistrias and the Philiki Etairia, 1814-1821", a contribution to the Seminar organised by King's College to mark the 150th anniversary of the Greek War of Independence (expected to be published in 1973).

(6) M.Th. Laskaris, Aftoviografia Ioannou Capodistriou, Athens, 1940, pp.44-45 (quoted by Koukou (op.cit., p.38) who gives the full story of the Society's branch in Vienna).

(7) Koukou, op.cit., p.50.

(8) Stanhope expressed his intention in a letter to J. Bowring dated Mesolongi 6 January 1824 (Greece, p.71).

(9) Ibid., p.144. See also the Society's answer to Stanhope's proposal ibid., p.298.

(10) Ibidl, p.145.

(11) The announcement, dated 1 October 1824, was published in the Efimeris ton Athinon (25 October 1824); see it also in Daskalakis, Keimena-Pigai, vol.III, (p.60) where many relevant entries in newspapers mentioned here have also been reprinted.

(12) D. Sourmelis, Istoria ton Athinon, Athens, 1853 (2), pp.92-93.

(13) Ibid., pp.93-94. A full account of measures taken regarding these institutions see in Dimakopoulos op.cit., pp.24-25.

(14) Efimeris ton Athinon (24 September 1824) reporting on the meeting of 21 September. On one of the first elections Stanhope had been given the right of vote (ibid., 6 September 1824).

(15) On Blaquiere's involvement see pp.134 ff. below, where a similar action taken by Stanhope is also discussed.

The latter's contacts with the Society are demonstrated by the letters written to him since his departure from Athens (Stanhope, Greece, p.455, etc.). The Society's relations to foreign countries is also demonstrated by an Appeal (dated 1 December 1825) addressed to the Comité Philhellenique of Paris, asking for their assistance (Journal d'Education, vol.XVIII (1825-1826), pp.101-102); see also pp.196 ff.

(16) Stanhope, Greece, pp.225 ff.

(17) Efimeris ton Athinon (12 November 1824). This attitude of the Society must be seen in conjunction with "progressive" tendencies possibly related to the Lancasterian system as described above (pp.54 ff.) and with the common attack on old methods by "progressive" thinkers often referred to in this study.

(18) On Gennadios' appointment, see Efimeris ton Athinon (21 January 1825); the appointment of representatives in Nafplion (dated 14 November 1824) was published in the Geniki Efimeris (21 November 1824). The number of schools functioning is reported ibid. (21 October 1825); a similar announcement, however, which had been published in the Efimeris ton Athinon nine months earlier, (loc.cit.) also included a simple school "of the Greek language" and a school of "History and Philosophy".

(19) The report was published by Sourmelis (op.cit., pp. 132 ff.); it should be compared with descriptions of Hazelwood School which is referred to in the next chapter. It should further be noted that, significantly, Sourmelis did not include in his history the report of Synesios, the teacher of the boys' Lancasterian school in Athens "because his method is almost identical with that of other Lancasterian schools" (ibid.). It is interesting in this respect that while both reports were published at the time in the Efimeris ton Athinon, the one by Nikitoplos was also printed in a separate pamphlet (Ginis-Mexas 1591). Synesios (who says that he had been a pupil of Athanasios Politis in the Ionian Islands), reveals in that report some interesting details regarding the running of the schools in Athens. Thus it clarifies the fact that between May and August 1825 because of the War the schools were not functioning and Synesios was teaching in Salamis those pupils of both schools, who had fled there with their families.

Interestingly, a process similar to the one described below by Nikitoplos seems to have been suggested in 1829-1830 by a teacher in Tripolitsa (see Nikitoplos' Report to the Committee of Education (9 February 1830) in Daskalakis, op.cit., p.762).

(20) Protopsaltis, Nea Stoicheia, p.263.

(21) See pp.116, 186 and 189-190 below.

(22) Missionary Herald, 1831, p.347.

(23) On Gropius, generally, see E.G. Protopsaltis, O Georgios Christianos Gropius kai i Drasis Aftou en Elladi, Athens, 1947, where, however, his association with the Philomuse Society is not fully investigated; see also p.148 below.

(24) The statutes of the Philanthropic Society have been printed in English translation (from which the above quotations have been taken) by Blaquiere, Narrative pp.148 ff.

(25) Archeia Palingenesias vol.II, p.382; and Blaquiere, op.cit., p.112.

(26) Voutier, Lettres, p.113; see, however, ibid., p.186, for a translation of the certificate (dated 15 November 1824) of Voutier's membership to the Society.

(27) The letter has been published by Blaquiere, op.cit., pp.145 ff. It should further be noted that by a certificate dated 12 August (i.e. two days later than the letter) Jeremy Bentham was named member of the Society; (the text of the document together with an English translation is to be found in Bentham, Works, vol.IV, p.589; the original is among the Bentham Mss. XII, 302).

(28) Details on these deliberations and correspondence have been included in the minutes of the Legislative Body (Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, pp.383,385,389 ff., 398 and 408). Blaquiere (op.cit., pp.139 ff.) has also published (in English translation) two documents by Nikolaos Gerakaris relative to the foundation of the Society and its first letters to the government.

(29) The letter is addressed to Lazaros and Georgios Kountouriotis (Archeia Kountourioti, vol.III, p.310). It should, however, be noted that Georgios Kountouriotis (then the President of the Executive Body) had been invited on 11 August 1824 to become a member of the Society and had, apparently, already accepted (see the relevant documents ibid. vol.III, pp.115 and 197). Further, other well known politicians, such as Theodoros Negris, and Georgios Glarakis were not only members of the Society but also of its Governing Committee. Spiliadis (Apomnimonevmata, vol.II, p.132) also refers to fears expressed in relation to the foundation of the Society.

(30) Ellinika Chronika (22 October 1824).

(31) Sourmelis, op.cit., p.94.

(32) See an announcement published in the Geniki Efimeris (28 April 1826).

(33) Nikitoplos had also signed the Philanthropic Society's statutes in 1824. See also pp.171 ff. below.

(34) See, for instance, Geniki Efimeris (7 July and 15 September 1826). Korais, too, was in contact with the Society, to the president of which he had written a long letter on 20 February 1827 on the merits of education (ibid., 12 November 1827).

(35) Masson (see pp.212 ff. below) was a member of the Society's Governing Committee at that time (see, for instance Geniki Efimeris (28 April 1826); see, further, a letter, also referred to below (p.172) by Georgios Constantinou (Missionary Register, 1827, p.217).

(36) See, in particular, for England, Curtis, History; for France, Gontard, L'Enseignement; for Russia, Zacek, The Lancastrian School.

(37) The full document is published in Daskalakis, op.cit., vol.III, pp.156 ff. See also pp.189-190 below.

(38) Pt.I, p.59; cf. note (34) above.

(39) Capodistrias' visit to the school is referred to in a letter (dated 17 April 1828) he wrote to its teacher, N. Nikitoplos, praising its achievements. (Epostolai, vol.II, p.40, reprinted in Daskalakis, op.cit., p.164).

(40) Geniki Efimeris, 24 November 1828.

(41) These difficulties are reflected in various publications in the Geniki Efimeris (see, in particular, 14 January 1828) and the Society's appeals for financial support (e.g. ibid., 4 January 1828).

(42) The text has been published by Kougeas, Péri tis kata tin Epanastasin Schediasthesis Akadimias.

(43) Blaquiere, op.cit., p.167. Kougeas (op.cit., p.18) recognised Omiridis' handwriting on the document.

(44) Blaquiere, loc.cit.

(45) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, pp.360,363,365,367 and 371.

(46) The list is published in Kougeas, op.cit., pp.17-18.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Archeia Palingenesias, loc.cit.

(49) This summary is based on the text as published by Kougeas (loc.cit.).

(50) On the newspapers see p.34 above. Generally the topic is covered by Koumarianou, O Typos, vol.I. For the presses see I.K. Mazarakis-Ainian, "Ta Ellinika Typografeia tou Agonos" in Nea Estia, vol.88 (1970), pp.226 ff.

(51) Issues of 12,15,19 and 22 November 1824.

(52) The article is signed B. and could perhaps be attributed to Neofytos Vamvas (see Alexis Dimaras "Ta Ekpaideftika kata ton Agona" in Nea Estia, vol.88 (1970), p.58).

(53) Anonymously published; Ellinika Chronika (28 January 1825).

(54) Per year publications of more than two pages between 1820 and 1829 are as follows:

1820 : 85	1825 : 48
1821 : 31	1826 : 39
1822 : 15	1827 : 67
1823 : 23	1828 : 62
1824 : 47	1829 : 74

(Based on Genis-Mexas)

(55) BFSSR (1831) p.55. Greek title: Mathimata di' Anagnosin (...) (Ginis-Mexas 1443). On 3 November 1819, however, William Allen, then on a visit to Corfu, noted that Athanasios Politis had translated the Scripture Lessons into modern Greek and Italian and that they were to be printed, by the care of "baron Theotiki" (president of the Bible Society in Corfu) (Allen, Life vol.II, p.129); but this text was never printed. The translator of the 1824 edition is not recorded. Another edition of it was made in 1833 (Polemis, Ta Ellinika Entypa, p.168).

(56) See E.I. Moschonas, in Eranistis, vol.III (1965), pp.199 ff. (No A231). A third edition of it (1831) is also known (Ginis-Mexas 2138); the second seems to be still missing. Wilson (A Narrative, p.209) mentions "several editions" without, however, being more specific about them.

(57) Ibid.

(58) These are: Neofytos Vamvas, Stoicheia tis Filosofikis

Ithikis, Venice, 1818; and Anthimos Gazis, Ellinikis Vivliothikis Vivlia Dyo, Venice, 1807.

(59) A. Korais, Ellinikis Vivliothikis, vol.IV, Ploutarchou Vioi Paralliloi, pt.II, Paris, 1811.

(60) pp.(2) ff.

(61) Ginis-Mexas 1713.

(62) BFSSR (1822), p.19; see also ibid. (1824), p.107. Cf. the following, explicit mention of this early edition in the School Societies 1829 Appeal on Behalf of the Grdeks (see p.162 below):

> "By his (J. Lowndes') exertions the Manual, detailing minutely the mechanical operations of the system, was translated into modern Greek; and an edition of it, under the revision of Dr. Politi, passed through the press" (p.1)

further in the same text, the edition of the Manual made in 1827 by Temple is referred to as "new edition" (p.3). The first English edition of the Manual was printed in London in 1816.

(63) Kokkonis, Perilipsis, p.7. There is also no obvious reference to such an early edition in a similar Report submitted by Nikitoplos to that same committee (published in Daskalakis, op.cit., pp.761 ff.)

(64) Ibid. p.8.

(65) See p.243 below.

(66) See in particular Polemis (op.cit.), who attempts an identification of the entries in a list of publications of the Church Missionary Society. Out of 61 entries for the years 1825-1841 Polemis positively identifies 47, which means that 23% of these editions are still not known today. See also Layton, The Modern Greek Collection in the Harvard College Library.

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CHAPTER IV; Section a

(1) Allen, Life, vol.II, p.107. On Allen generally, see also Hall, William Allen; and David Salmon, "William Allen", in Educational Record, vol.XVI, pp.690 ff. and 747 ff.

(2) Etienne de Grellet du Marbillier, commonly known as Stephen Grellet, was a French noble who had left his country at the Revolution and settled in America where he became a Quaker. See Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephem Grellet (ed. Benjamin Seebohm), London, 1860, (his visit to Greece in vol.II, pp.14 ff.); and William Guest, Stephen Grellet, London, 1903 (5).

(3) On some philanthropic activities of the Society of Friends see below pp.180 ff. See also the First Report of a Committee of the Society of Friends Managing a Fund raised for the Relief of the Distressed Greeks (London 1824) which covers the period from January 1823 to June 1824 (Society of Friends Library, Box 291). In his desire to assist the Greek victims of the War, Allen also tried to gain the sympathy of personalities such as the Duke of Wellington and Tsar Alexander I.

(4) BFSSR, 1820, p.20.

(5) Allen, op.cit., vol.II, p.114.

(6) Ibid., pp.106 ff. Other foreigners impressed by Vamvas were, to mention only a few, the Revs. Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Clogg, O Parsons kai o Fisk, p.181), Rufus Anderson (Larabbee, Hellas, p.185) and Ionas King (Missionary Herald, 1831, p.275), and, of course, his English collaborators of the London Missionary Society, first, and then of the Church Missionary Society.

(7) BFSSR, 1823, p.29. On the British and Foreign School Society see pp.55 ff. above.

(8) Ibid, 1824, p.21.

(9) Blaquiere, Narrative, (pt.I), pp.110-111; There seems, however, to be no evidence of the origin of this offer.

(10) Stanhope, Greece, pp.8 and 288; the beginning of Bentham's letter ("In regard to the Greek boys...") clearly indicates that the matter had been discussed earlier.

(11) Misunderstanding occured perhaps mainly because Bentham had also spoken to the Greek Deputies in London about his intention to invite two Greek boys. His desires in the matter are laid down, again in great detail, in a letter he addressed to them on 7 March 1824(Archeion Lourioti, (6) 52; an acknowledgement of its receipt (see in Bentham Mss. XII, 201). Two months later, however,

the Deputies received a copy of a Greek newspaper, presumably the Ellinika Chronika (9 January 1824) where mention was made of Stanhope's activity in the matter. This confused them, and they wrote to Bentham (3 May 1824: Dallegio, p.175) to inquire whether this was the same or a different offer. A note addressed to them and not bearing any date (Archeion Lourioti, (25), 17) is obviously Bentham's answer to their query, but it does not clarify the issue: He says that Stanhope's offer "ne conte encofe en rien", while regarding the boys he had talked to them about, he would only pay for their return journey to Greece should their parents become victims of the War. Consequently, he says, the boys "sont envoyés ici et entretenus à leurs propres dépens et non aux miens". Further confusion was created when, as will be seen, the Legislative Assembly in Greece was informed that Bentham had invited three boys. Finally he felt obliged to add a long postscript on this matter to a letter he had addressed to the Legislative Assembly on 28 January 1825 (Works, vol.IV, p.588). He clarifies that "two, and only two, is the number (of boys) to which my engagement applied", and sets out his financial obligations regarding the scheme. It should be noted that when Bentham was writing this letter he had already taken the two boys in charge. See also note (22) and p.143 below.

(12) The following books express the theories and practices followed by the Hills: Exercises in Reading and Recitation Performed by the Pupils of Hill Top School Birmingham, Birmingham, 1815; Public Education: Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in Large Numbers, London, 1822; R. and F. Hill, The Laws of Hazelwood School, London, 1827. For a comprehensive study of the Hills' educational activities see Dobson, The Hill Family, (pt.II passim), where an account of their relationship with Bentham is also given.

(13) Curtis, History, pp.142-3.

(14) See Dobson, op.cit., pt.II, p.8. A special prize was awarded every year to the best foreign pupils at the school (The Hazelwood Magazine, passim).

(15) Stanhope, op.cit., p.52.

(16) Ibid., pp.207-209. Botsaris apparently did not accept these offers addressed to his elder son. It is, however, interesting to note that several months later the Metropolitan Ignatios thought of asking Bentham to take under his care the second son of Botsaris (see Ignatios' letter to Capodistrias, dated 7/19 January 1825 in Protopsaltis, Ignatios, pt.II, p.208).

(17) Stanhope, op.cit., p.8.

(18) Ibid., p.207.

(19) Archeion Ydras, vol.X, pp.104-105.

(20) Allen made his offer in a letter to the Deputies dated 27 April 1824 (Archeion Lourioti (6), 92); their letter (3 May 1824) is to be found in the Genika Archeia, K. 34 (2); cf. Archeion Ydras, vol.X, p.135; see also p.181 below.

(21) Archeia Kountourioti, vol.II, p.306.

(22) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, pp.339-343. This is perhaps the beginning of the donfusion over the number of boys invited by Bentham (see note (11) above), and it must have been created by the fact that these minutes were most probably written by the Secretary from memory after the meeting. The following offers had in fact been made: Blaquiere 20 boys; Allen 3 boys; Bentham 2 boys.

(23) Ibid., p.349.

(24) Blaquiere, op.cit., (pt.I) p.111; and Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.335.

(25) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, pp.356-7. What Trikoupis meant by "common Schools of England" is not clear; the term (Koina Scholeia) was then commonly used to designate primary schools in general. It will be seen, moreover, in the following pages that the Greek boys eventually went to institutions influenced, if not controlled, by the Quakers.

(26) Blaquiere, op.cit., (pt.II), pp.130-131. It will be seen that of the two boys only one did eventually go to England. On Hasting's relationship with the Tombazis family see Dakin, British and American Philhellenes, p.37.

(27) Blaquiere, op.cit., (pt.II), pp.131-132. Of the three boys nominated by the Society only one, Dimitrios Callifronas, did eventually go to England, as will be seen; illness prevented the other two from leaving Greece (idem.).

(28) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.360. Regarding Botsaris see also note (16) above.

(29) Ibid., p.361.

(30) Ibid., p.366.

(31) Archeion Ydras, vol.X, p.325.

(32) Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p.368.

(33) Archeion Ydras, vol.X, p.336. This appears to be a confirmation of several reports regarding the state of education in Ydra. Velelis (O Capodistrias, p.34) thinks that the first school was not opened there uhtil 1826, and George Waddington, who visited the island in March 1824, comments that "the advantages of education are as yet extremely under-valued at Hydra" (A Visit, p.112). John Hartley, in 1829, realised that "the condition of the youth of Hydra, is most unhappy: there are no tutors, no libraries, no means of

passing their time usefully" (Researches, p.315). These conclusions of the historian, and observations of the travellers combined with further information provided by other visitors such as J. Emerson in 1825 (A Picture, vol.I, p.134) and G. Dickson in 1833 (BFSSR., 1834, p.83) who have seen schools functioning there, add value to the comment made on the issue by Elias Riggs who noted in 1832: "On our arrival in Hydra we were repeatedly informed that no school existed in the place"; but after "making many inquiries" he discovered that there existed two private schools. The fact, then, seems to be that the authorities were not providing public schools in Ydra, while the wealthy were catered for by private establishments. This attitude may also explain their reluctahce to select a "common" boy to be educated in England while the sons of one of their most influential leaders (Tombazis) had been invited to do so.

(34) Dakin, op.cit., p.84. Bentham in his letter of 28 January 1825 referred to in note (11) above says that Blaquiere had taken with him ten boys, one of whom "died on the passage". If this information is correct there seems to be no indication as to who that boy was.

(35) Dakin, loc.cit. The quotation from the Westminster Review (July 1826) p.126.

(36) The Times, 23 October 1824.

(37) p.515. Regarding the visit to the Stock Exchange, it should be remembered that at the time the London Greek Committee was deeply engaged in the raising of the Loans."

(38) On Constantas see above, mainly pp.73 ff.; on Chrysogelos see p.239 below.

(39) Bentham Mss., XII, 321.

(40) T. Wemyss Reid, Life of the Right Honourable William Edward Forster, London, 1888, vol.I, p.298. Robert Forster and W.E. Forster, the originator of the 1870 Elementary Education Act were members of the same family.

(41) Archeia Kountourioti, vol.III, p.145. For Lazaros' letter, see idem., p.141.

(42) The List of Students was published in the BFSSR, 1877, pp.133 ff. That some boys were sent to Colchester is mentioned idem., 1831, p.54 (see also the Society's Appeal of 1829, p.2).

(43) BFSSR, 1825, p.21, and 1826, p.4; Blaquiere, op.cit., (pt.I), p.118; Apologia I. Orlandou kai A. Lourioti (etc.), Athens, 1839, vol.I, pp.31 and passim.

(44) The description of his arrival at Hazelwood was published in Hazelwood Magazine (1825), quoted in (Hill), Plans for the Government, (1894 ed.) pp.77-78.

Rallis' letter to Bentham (22 February 1826) is among the Bentham Mss (X, 155); see also Bentham, Works, vol.IV, p.588. He is reported (Hazelwood Magazine, 1827, p.2) as having been awarded the first "Greek Prize" at the end of the last half-term of 1826.

(45) His departure for Greece was arranged by one of the Greek Deputies in London (see letter by Louriotis to Bentham (20 August 1825) in Bentham Mss, XII, 345). Forster in a letter to Edward Masson dated 24 October 1825 says that Nakos had left for Greece "about six weeks" earlier (Society of Friends, Temp.Mss., 7/16).

(46) Society of Friends, idem., where samples of his progress in calligraphy are also to be found.

(47) Hazelwood Magazine, 1828 and 1829, passim; the quotation from vol.VII (1829), p.21. Most of his prized were for drawing and French. There seems to be no evidence of Bentham's involvement in his going to Hazelwood.

(48) Tombazis, Adelfoi Tombazi, pp.385 ff., and current issues of Greek Encyclopedias. (See p.33 above for a reference to his uncle's views on education).

(49) 1827, p.502; idem., p.[illegible] for [illegible]

(50) Theodore Compton, Recollections of Tottenham Friends and the Forster Family, London, 1893, p.53.

(51) The translation of his Memoirs was published in Ta Athinaika, no 8, October 1957, pp.33 ff. ("Simeioseis Dimitriou P. Callifrona"). See also J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, Cambridge, 1940, pt.II, vol.I, p.491; see also p.155 below. Dimitrios' great-grandson, Dr. Theodore Chaplin (to whose courtesy I owe much of this information) keeps a fine picture of the boy at the time of his arrival in England. (On the Philomuse Society see pp.104 ff. above).

(52) For Capodistrias' letter see his Correspondence, vol.III, pp.307 ff. Lambros' departure is referred to in BFSSR, 1831, p.54; his being employed at Poros idem., 1832, pp.18-19.

(53) The quotation is from the Missionary Register, 1833, p.554. On his departure see also BFSSR, 1834, p.28. There are references to his working in Syra in the Church Missionary Register, 1835 and 1836.

(54) BFSSR, 1833, p.21.

(55) Details of this examination see in Efimeris tis Kyverniseos, 1834, p.241.

(56) His first appointments are announced idem., p.298; for the later one see BFSSR, 1838, p.20.

(57) His departure is mentioned in the BFSSR., 1833, p.24; his working with Robertson, idem., 1836, p.94. On his having been to Andros see idem., 1838, p.18; and Paschalis, Kairis, pp.74-78.

(58) Mentioned in an announcement printed at the end (p.(139)) of his Manual of Geography.

(59) In a description of his Mathimata peri tou Chreous Imon, printed on the fourth page of its cover.

(60) Allen, op.cit., vol.II, p.4.

(61) Capodistrias, Correspondence, vol.III, p.308.

(62) His arrival in Greece is reported by Korck in a letter to the School Society, dated 24 September 1829 (BFSSR., 1830, p.90); his earlier meeting with Hildner in Corfu is mentioned in Missionary Register, 1830, p.13.

(63) The letter is to be found in the Archives of the Church Missionary Society (O.43, No 11).

(64) Quoted from Korck's letter referred to in note (62) above.

(65) BFSSR., 1830, p.95.

(66) See these details in Korck's letter to the primates of Syra (Daskalakis, Keimena-Pigai, vol.III, pp.1687 ff.); also in BFSSR., 1832, pp.18-19. The quotation is from the Missionary Herald, 1838, p.359.

(67) A biography of Dimitrios Pieridis (including a picture of him at a very late age) has been printed in Loizou Filippou, Ta Ellinika Grammata en Kypro kata tin Periodon tis Tourkokratias, 1571-1878, Nikosia, 1930, vol.II, pp.142-146. It is not, however, very reliable, especially regarding the early periods of his life. The date of his death is not given in this work, but he was still alive in 1888 (Georgios I. Kipiadis, Apomnimonevmata ton kata to 1821 en ti Niso Kypro Tragikon Skinon, Alexandria, 1888, p.14.).

(68) BFSSR., 1825, pp.21-22.

(69) Idem., 1831, p.54.

(70) That he worked with Howe is implied in the description of his occupation in the BFSSR, 1831, p.35; on this issue see also pp.174-175 below. That he worked as an interpreter is mentioned by Ward (A Retrospect, p.359).

(71) Blaquiere, Narrative, (pt.II) p.132.

(72) Ibid., p.173.

(73) 1826 (July), p.126.

(74) BFSSR., 1830, p.93.

(75) The issue of the (apparently many) Greek boys who were sent to be educated abroad during the War of Independence and immediately after its end has still to be investigated. It is interesting not only in itself,

but also because it soon became an item of disagreement between "progressive" and "traditionalist" Greek educationists (see also Alexis Dimaras, Post-War Educational Reform p.73). Some further examples of this activity are given in the following sections of this chapter. See also I.A. Dimakis, "Martyries gia tin tychi merikon orfanon apo tin Chio pou glytosan apo ti sfagi tou 1822" in Chiaki Epitheorisis, (offprint, 1965). Indications that the boys mentioned here had been abroad are to be found: for Tombazis, in Tombazis, Adelfoi Tombazi, pp.180 ff; for Botsaris, in Cochrane, Wanderings, vol.I, p.75; for Mavromichalis, in Documents Relatifs à l'Etat Present de la Grèce, passim. (See also Evangelidis, I Paideia, vol.I, p.ČXXXVI).

(76) Blaquiere, op.cit., (pt.I), p.111.

(77) Ta Athinaika, No 8, October 1957, pp.34-35.

(78) The Times, 23 October 1824.

(79) BFSSR., 1825, pp.6-7.

(80) Idem., 1826, p.4.

(81) Blaquiere, op.cit., (pt.I), p.117.

(82) The letter, dated London 18 December 1824 see in Blaquiere, ibid., (pt.II), p.168.

(83) BFSSR., 1825, p.XV.

(84) 1826 (July), p.126.

(85) Blaquiere (Narrative) makes frequent references to this "Education Committee" but without giving details of its origin or membership. That Allen was its Treasurer is indicated at the end of the first Appeal (Blaquiere, idem, (pt.II), p.174) though this may refer to his duties with the School Society. There is an explicit reference to Forster as Secretary of the Committee in the 1826 circular mentioned below.

(86) The text of this first appeal has been included by Blaquiere in his Narrative ((pt.II), pp.170 ff.); it is not dated but its composition can be placed at the end of 1824 by, among other indications, the fact that it refers to Nikolaos Vlachos as still being in England (see p1145 above). The Appeal was also printed (March 1825) in the Missionary Register, pp.135 ff. A French translation was published in the Journal d'Education of the Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire (1825, pp.233 ff.).

(87) A copy of this circular is to be found in the Library of the Society of Friends in London (Box L, 20).

(88) See Larrabee, op.cit., p.183.

(89) A copy of this Appeal is bound with the 1830 BFSSR volume in the Library of the Borough Road College at Isleworth. It was reprinted (February 1830) in the Missionary Register, pp.84 ff.

(90) Ward, op.cit., p.360.

(91) This information is included in a General Sketch of Proceedings in Greece for the Promotion of Education by the School Society (BFSSR., 1831, pp.52 ff.).

(92) Quoted by Ward, loc.cit.

(93) This is particularly the case of his long letter (24 September 1829) published in the BFSSR, 1830, pp.90 ff. already referred to above. It is interesting to note that this letter was also published in a separate 8-page pamphlet to be found bound with the 1830 BFSSR volume in the Library of the Borough Road College at Isleworth. See also pp.184 ff. below.

(94) G. Dickson and his wife left for the Ionian Islands on 24 August 1827. They had both been trained in the mutual method of instruction and were expected to "devote" themselves "to the business of education". G. Dickson had "acquired a considerable knowledge of Modern Greek, being previously well acquainted with the Ancient." (Missionary Register, 1827, p.503; see also BFSSR., 1830, p.94). Two extracts of his Report, dated Cephalonia, 21 July and 20 November 1833, were published in the BFSSR., 1834, pp.81 ff. Frequent reference to his activities in these years is made in the BFSSR.

(95) See also Ward, op.cit., p.363.

(96) There is, for instance, no reference to Constantinou in such "established" histories of education as those by Lefas, Isigonis, Moraitis etc., who also ignore or minimise the importance of major issues such as the 1917 Reform.

(97) On these incidents see, e.g., George Hill, A History of Cyprus, Cambridge, 1925, vol.IV, pp.126 ff.; and Kipiadis, op.cit.

(98) Ward, oplcit., p.359. See also Constantinou's letter to Robert Forster, dated Nafplion, 15 April 1825 (Society of Friends, Temp, Mss. 7/16).

(99) Missionary Register, 1823, p.213.

(100) Idem., 1822, p.39; and 1827, p.181.

(101) Idem., 1823, p.213.

(102) BFSSR., 1823, p.29; and idem., 1824, p.21.

(103) Ideml, 1877, pp.113 ff.

(104) Missionary Herald, 1824, p.240.

(105) BFSSR., 1824, p.21; and Missionary Register, 1823, p.212.

(106) BFSSR., loc.cit.

(107) Idem., 1825, p.20.

(108) On Masson see pp.212 ff. below. His date of departure is established by an entry in a manuscript record of some activities of the London Greek Committee to be found in the Bentham Mss., CX, 40. Almost certainly, then, he went on the Florida, on which J. Emerson and A. Palma also travelled.

(109) BFSSR., 1825, p.20.

(110) On the arrival of the Florida see Palma, Greece Vindicated, p.2. Constantinou's meeting with the other educational leaders on 25 December 1824 is established by the fact that they signed as witnesses Constantas' will dated on that day (Sperantzas, O Grigorios Constantas, pp.87 ff.).

(111) Society of Friends, Temp, Mss.; 7/16.

(112) On Pecchio see note (28) to Chapter III section (b) above. His visit to Constantinou's school is decsribed in his recollections from Greece (Emerson et al., A Picture, vol.II, p.53).

(113) The relative documents have been published in Daskalakis, op.cit., pp.76-77.

(114) Pecchio, loc.cit.

(115) This description is quoted from a letter Constantinou wrote to William Allen from Ydra (20 July 1825) to be found among the Society of Friends, Temp, Mss. 7/16.

(116) Ibid.

(117) Forster to Constantinou, 24 October 1824 (Idem. 7/16).

(118) BFSSR., 1826, p.20.

(119) See pp.111 ff. above.

(120) Geniki Efimeris, 28 April 1826.

(121) BFSSR., 1827, pp.16-17.

(122) This opinion was expressed by G. Glarakis (Geniki Efimeris, 7 July 1826).

(123) Ibid., 15 September 1826.

(124) Missionary Register, 1827, p.217.

(125) For a mention of his working in Nafplion see a document published by Daskalakis, op.cit., p.139; see also Anderson, Obsefvations, p.238. Evangelidis, op. cit., vol.II, p.7 places Nikitoplos' employment at Nafplion as beginning on 15 September, but does not state the source of this information. On Nikitoplos see also pp.108 ff. above.

(126) BFSSR., 1831, p.54.

(127) Larrabee, Hellas, p.156.

(128) Finlay, History, vol.VI, p.395.

(129) A George Constantine who at a later time worked with the American missionaries and established a Greek branch of the Evangelical Alliance in 1870 was not born until 1833 (see P.E. Shaw, American Contacts, p.143).

(130) Howe, Letters and Journals, vol.I, p.356.

(131) BFSSR., 1831, p.55.

(132) Idem., 1832, pp.18-19.

(133) Idem., 1833, p.21; and 1834, p.91.

(134) An English translation of this "Plan" was published in the Report of the American Board of Commissioners, 1834, pp.42 ff.

(135) The relative decree (6/18 February 1834) was published in the Efimeris tis Kyverniseos, 1834, p.18.

(136) Mentioned in his letter to Forster (15 April 1825) referred to above (Society of Friends, Temp, Mss. 7/16).

(137) Ward, op.cit., p.359.

(138) BFSSR., 1849, p.19.

(139) Ward, loc.cit.

(140) Ibid. Dated 24 October 1833, Society of Friends, Temp. Mss., 7/16(1).

CHAPTER IV; Section b

(1) Apart from the relative chapters in general histories of the Missionary Societies, their activities in Greece are also examined in such works as P.E. Shaw, American Contacts; and Vaporis, The Controversy. On some aspects of their early intentions, see also Clogg, O Parsons kai o Fisk.

(2) For a comparison of the attitudes towards education followed by the various Christian sects, see, for instance, Hans, Comparative Education, pp.85 ff.

(3) Some issues related to the distribution of Bibles have been discussed in Chapter II above (p.35).

(4) Stanhope, Greece, p.98.

(5) Quoted from a letter he adressed to them om 27 April 1824 (Archeion Louriotí, (6), 92).

(6) Letter dated 24 October 1825 (Society of Friends, Temp. Mss., 7/16).

(7) The Rev. Josiah Brewer, then agent of the Boston Female Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews. On developments regarding the school which he founded in Syra, see p.186 below.

(8) See also Clogg, op.cit., p.180.

(9) Missionary Register, 1824, p.262.

(10) See, particularly, Holmes (ed.), Educational Policy, passim. Cf. that the British and Foreign School Society, too, was preparing translations and publications when circumstances prevented it from developing other activities in Greece (see, e.g., BFSSR., 1826, pp.19-20).

(11) Frequent reference has already been made to Korck in the previous pages of this study. Regarding, however, the biographical notes presented here it should be mentioned that a monograph on him remains to be written. Further, not only are Greek historians of education obviously reluctant to elaborate on his personality and contribution to developments in Greece, but even his first name has not been uniformly reported: Evangelidis (I Paideia, vol.II, p.82) calls him Daniel, and even Vaporis (op.cit., p.180 and passim), who usually utilises sources carefully, calls him Calvin, probably misled by the fact that Oikonomos (Ta Sozomena, vol.II, p.306) refers to him as o Kalvinos Korck, obviously referring to his religion and not to his name. It should be noted in passing that even the Missionary Register (1826, p.637) announcing his arrival in London calls him Christopher. More serious than this confusion, is the fact that the relative article in the Megali Elliniki Engyclopaidia appears to confuse him with some other person who arrived in Greece at the time of Otho's arrival and was particularly

interested in the promotion of sport and athletics. Of this latter person, however, there seems to be no trace. The same error is repeated in the Engyclopaidikon Lexikon Eleftheroudaki.

(12) This overall picture of Korck's early connections with the Church Missionary Society is based on information provided in the Missionary Register (1826, p.637; and 1827, passim). Further information about him is also to be found in the archives of the Basler Mission in Basel (file BV.50) and the Church Missionary Society in London (M/O. 43). For a time (possibly from December 1823 to August 1825) Korck went to Paris to complete his missionary education. (Basler Mission, op.cit.).

(13) Missionary Register, 1828, p.204.

(14) A list of contributors, including his name was published in the Geniki Efimeris, 28 January 1828.

(15) See his report, dated 27 August 1828, in the Missionary Register, 1829, p.47.

(16) For a general description of the anti-missionary incidents at Syra at the time see Vaporis, op.cit., pp.185 ff. The Society's decision that Korck "should remove his residence and labours from Syra to Corfu", "in consequence of the painful interruption" of his plans is reported in the Missionary Register, 1831, p.141; that instead he established a school in Chalkis, see, for instance, BFSSR., 1832, p.18.

(17) Missionary Record, 1839, pp.97 and 261; Shaw, op.cit., p.21. In 1833 the Missionary Register (p.27) wrongly reported that he had died.

(18) Quoted from a long description of the "State of Greece, with plans for its Melioration" which he sent to the Church Society, and was published in the Missionary Register, 1829, pp.167 ff.; the first quotation is from p.168, the second from p.170.

(19) Idem., p.169.

(20) The letter dated 9 February 1828, is in the Genika Archeia (Geniki Grammateia, F.14). A translation of it, together with the whole plan, is published in Daskalakis, Keimena-Pigai, vol.III, p.156. See also p.116 above.

(21) Missionary Register, 1829, p.168.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Idem., p.170.

(24) Idem., 1830, p.382. On the affair of his marriage there is abundant information in his correspondence with the Church Missionary Society (M/O.43).

(25) Quoted from an entry in Jonas King's Journal for 2 April 1834 (Missionary Herald, 1835, p.95).

(26) His method was thus described by Georgios Constantinou in a letter to the School Society dated 25 December 1835 (BFSSR., 1836, p.94).

(27) The mention is made in the letter referred to above (note(93) to section(a) of this chapter) he addressed to the School Society (BFSSR., 1830, p.93). No publication under Korck's name is recorded in Ginis-Mexas. There is, however, indication that a Law on Education of Girls was printed at the Church Society's presses in Malta in 1830, but it does not seem to have been identified with any book known to-day (Polemis, Ta Ellinika Entypa, p.165).

(28) Quoted by Shaw, op.cit., p.21.

(29) Missionary Register, 1827, p.263. In the Records of the Basler Mission he is mentioned as having been born in Querfurt (near Halle) on 2 January 1800. The report on the establishment of the Society (Vereins zur sittlich-religiösen Einwirkung auf die Griechen) also includes the information that its Committee "have purchased the freedom of twelve Greek boys from the Russians (sic)" and intended to train them as teachers. One more boy was reported as having been sent from Corfu (idem., 1828, p.65). Further information about these boys is apparently to be found in the Staatsarchiv in Basel, which I have been unable to consult. For an overall description of the philhellenic movement in Basel see Emil Rothplatz, "Die philhellenische Bewegung in Basel zur Zeit des griechischen Freiheitskampfes (1821-1829)" in Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Basel,

vol.43 (1944) pp.119 ff. According to information from the archives of the Basler Mission (BV.49) Hildner left the Basel Institute on 27 September 1826 and arrived at Corfu on 26 February 1827.

(30) Missionary Register, 1828, p.65.

(31) Idem., 1829, p.51; see also ibid., pp.306-307.

(32) Idem., 1830, p.14; see also ibid., 1829, p.52. See further a letter by H.D. Leeves (19 December 1830) to the School Society (BFSSR., 1831, pp.48 ff.).

(33) Church Missionary Paper, No LXXII (Christmas 1833); a short history of the School at Syra up to that year is to be found in that issue.

(34) Missionary Register, 1831, p.512; 1832, p.295; and 1833, p.27. According to his biographical notes in the archives of the Basler Mission, Carolina Damm came from his native town, Querfurt. She died in 1859 and two years later Hildner married a Greek (Angeliki Georgiadou).

(35) Polemis, op.cit., p.165. There is a further mention of his having "translated several works into Modern Greek for the benefit of the Schools" (presumably of Syra, which were under his supervision) in the Missionary Register, 1835, p.76.

(36) Hildner died in Syra on 28 February 1883 (Basler Mission, BV.49). There is some more reference to him and his school in p.249 below. However, the full story of this most interesting educational establishment in Syra, together with an investigation of the sections of society it was catering for, has still to be written. There is abundant, as yet unused, information on the matter in periodicals of the time such as the Missionary Register, the Missionary Record, the Church Missionary Paper, and the Magazin für die Neueste Geschichte der Evangelischen Missions und Bibelgesellschaftem (Basel). The archives of the Church Missionary Society (boxes M/O.43 (Korck) and particularly M/O.33 (Hildner)) as well as those of the Basler Mission in Basel (file BV.49 (Hildner) and BV.50 (Korck)) contain rich and important material including many of Hildner's annual reports. A picture of the School building has been printed in the Church Missionary Paper (loc.cit.).

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CHAPTER IV; Section c

(1) Geniki Efimeris, 19 Junell826. On Eynard and his relationship with the Greek cause see Michelle Bouvier-Bron, Jean-Gabriel Eynard (1775-1863) et le Philhéllé-nisme Genévois, Genève, 1963; on his contribution to education in Greece see particularly Petrondas, Capodistrias et Eynard.

(2) Thiersch in his De l'Etat Actuel, gives a comprehensive survey of his views regarding Greece in general, and her education in particular.

(3) Journal d'Education, vol.IX (1819-1820), p.259.

(4) Bulletin de la Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire, vol.II (1830), p.58. A list of treateses on French philhellenism is given by Dimakis, La Guerre de l'Indépendance, pp.15 ff.

(5) Journal d'Education, vol.II (1816), pp.354-355.

(6) Idem., vol.V (1817-1818), p.263.

(7) On Cleovoulos see also pp.30-31 above; his Tables are described in I. Bianu et al., Bibliografia Romaneasca veche 1508-1830, Bucuresti, 1912-1936, vol.III, No 1055; and Journal d'Education, vol.VIII (1819), pp.181-185. On Rosnovanu see Vlad Georgescu, "Preocupations Culturelles chez Nicolae Rosetti-Rosnovanu" 1818-1821 in Revue des Etudes Sud-Europeènes, vol.VIII (1970), pp.231 ff.

(8) See the report of the Comité in the Journal d'Education, vol.VIII (1819), pp.177 ff.

(9) Idem., vol.XI (1820-1821), pp.60 and 332.

(10) Idem., vol.XVIII(1824-1825), p.146. They were two sisters née Fournarakis (one of them married to a French Mr. Poutou); see idem., vol.XVIII (1825-1826), pp.160-161. The Fournarakis family was apparently in contact with Korais, and another member of it, probably a brother of the students mentioned here, was later employed at the Greek School which was founded in Paris in 1831 and in which Korais took particular interest (see K. Amantos, "Poiimata kai alla Dimosievmata tou Adamantiou Korai" in Ellinika, vol.VI (1933), pp.183 ff.).

(11) Bulletin de la Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire, vol.II (1830), p.58. Official criticism about Manakidis is expressed in a report (14 May 1831) submitted to the Secretary of State for Education by Andreas Moustoxydis, head of the cultural establishments in Aigina (Daskalakis, Keimena-Pigai, vol.III, pp.1871-2); see (Korais) Symmikta, ptll, p.5, for the views held against him by opponents of the government.

(12) See Amariotou, Io.P. Kokkonis, p.18.

(13) Journal d'Education, vol.XVIII (1825-1826), p.37.

(14) It is, for instance, significant that the summary of the report of the 1824 Greek Committee on Education (p.87 above) was published in French translation in the Journal d'Education, vol.VII (1824-1825), pp.22 ff.

(15) Idem., vol.XVIII (1825-1826), p.39.

(16) Documents relatifs à l'état présent de la Grèce, No.10 (July 1828 – Febmmary 1829), p.66; this periodical publication covering the period from June 1826 to February 1829 is the main source of information for the activities of the Société Philanthropique discussed here.

(17) Documents (etc.), passim.

(18) Palaiologos is generally renowned for having contributed to the promotiom of agriculture in Greece (see, particularly, D.L. Zografos, Istoria tis Ellinikis Georgias, vol.I, Athens, 1921, pp.349-350; and by the same author, Istoria tis par'imin Georgikis Ekpaidefseos, vol.I, Athens, 1936, pp.31 ff.

(19) Dakin, British and American Philhellenes, p.99.

(20) Ginis-Mexas, 1973.

(21) See the comprehensive article by J. Dimakis "La 'Société de la Morale Chrétienne' de Paris et son action en faveur des Grecs lors de l'Insurection de 1821" in Balkan Studies, vol.VII (1966), pp.27-48, which mainly draws on the periodical publication of the Société (Journal de la Morale Chrétienne).

(22) Journal de la Morale Chrétienne, vol.II (1823), p.349.

(23) Idem., vol.X (1829), p.319; and Dimakis, op.cit., p.48.

(24) On Jullien generally and his association with the Societies discussed here, see Goetz, Marc-Antoine Jullien; see also P. Rossello, Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris, Genève, 1943. It is interesting to note that two of the most important predursors of Comparative Education have expressed their views regarding the most effective educational system for Greece at the beginning of her independence. Thiersch, whose Uber den gegenwartigen Zustand des offentlichen Unterrichts (etc.) is considered to be the most important study of its time in Comparative Education (Alexandre Vexliard, La Pédagogie Comparée, Paris, 1967, p.25) has already been mentioned above as having included his elaborate views on Greek education in his De l'état actuel. Jullien, on the other hand, had judged that the needs of the new state included:

> "L'établissement d'écoles primaires d'enseignement mutuel et d'écoles secondaires, qui répandent peu a peu l'instruction dans toutes les classes de citoyens, qui adquittent ainsi la première dette de la patrie envers ses enfants, qui forment des agriculteurs, des ouvriers, des marins, des commercants, des soldats, des artistes, également pénétrés du sentiment de leurs drois civils et politiques, de leurs devoirs, de leurs interêts particuliers publics, et pourvus des vrais connaiss-ances premières et indispensables (lecture, écriture, calcul, dessin linéaire, géométrie élémentaire,

géographie, histoire nationale, réligion et morale pratique etc.) qu'ils devront appliquer dans leurs relations sociales et dans toutes les circonstances de leur vie" Revue Encyclopédique, vol.XXXVI (1827), pp.234-235.

(25) These biographical notes, especially for the early period of Dutrône's philhellenic activities, are mostly based on documents of the French Police kept at the Archives Nationales (F7 6724, items 307-373). It is these papers that also reveal his first names which are apparently not known from other sources. His involvement in the affair of the Amazone is mentioned in the Archives Nationales, op.cit. (14 July 1826). His being accepted as a member of the Société pour l'Instruction Elémentaire (22 February 1826) see in the Journal d'Education, vol. XVIII (1825-1826), p.92. In the Journal de la Morale Chrétienne he is referred to as "membre de la Société (de la Morale Chrétienne)" (e.g., vol.IX (1828), p.300).

(26) Archives Nationales, op.cit., (1 September 1826); see also Persat, Mémoires, p.209.

(27) The quotations are from the Archives Nationales (op.cit., 11 September 1828), and from a letter written by Eynard to Capodistrias (10 October 1830) on Dutrône's return from Greece (Theotokis, Allilographia pt.II, p.359). On his friendship with H. Carnot see, for example, Paul Carnot, Hippolyte Carnot, et le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Paris, 1948; cf., also, letters he wrote to Carnot, of which some were published (e.g. Journal d'Education, vol.XX (1827-1828), p.320).

(28) See the letter (2 December 1827) in Theotokis, op.cit., pt.I, p.64.

(29) Archives Nationales, op.cit., (2 January 1828).

(30) Theotokis, loc.cit.; see also his letter to the Greeks (10 February 1828) to be discussed on the next page.

(31) A list of contributors including his name was published in the Geniki Efimeris, 11 February 1828.

(32) The letter (dated 10 February 1828) addressed "To the Greeks of all classes and particularly the needy residing in Aigina" was first printed in French in the Abeille Grecque (20 February 1828), the French-language paper published in Aigina; and then in Greek translation in the Geniki Efimeris, 29 February 1828. For some reactions to this letter see p.251 below.

(33) See his Extraits de la Correspondance, p.9.

(34) Persat, loc.cit. Dutrône is referred as such in the document by which he is nominated at a special committee on education in October 1829 (see next note).

(35) A long report, signed "D...e", was published regarding this inspection (Abeille Grecque, 16 July 1828; see comments on it ibid., 23 July 1828). A Greek translation of this report was published in December of that same year in the Geniki Efimeris (reprinted by Daskalakis, op.cit., vol.III, pp.178 ff.). Dutrône's pamphlet

Mémoire à son Excellence le President de la Grèce, was published in Marseille in 1829. His appointment to the special committee was made on 18 October 1829 (Daskalakis, op.cit., pp.331-332). Earlier, in March, he had been placed in charge of a team translating French books to be used in the primary schools (ibid., p.191).

(36) According to Eynard (Theotokis, op.cit., pt.II, p.359) Dutrône told him that for twenty months before his departure from Greece he had been "en opposition directe" with the President. Regarding his opposition to Capodistrias, on which more is said in pp.245-246 below, it is interesting to note here that from October 1828 onwards he was asking advice from Korais (Kontogiannis, Epistolai, pp.170-172) whose liberal feelings have already been referred to. No politics seem to have been involved, but if Dutrône accepted Korais' views on education, it is easy to understand that he came to disapprove of Capodistrias' attitudes on the matter (see also Chapter VI below).

(37) Theotokis, loc.cit.

(38) Published in Paris in 1831. Evangelidis (I Paideia, vol. I, p.CXXXIX) says that Dutrône had also published a bilingual (French/Greek) pamphlet entitled Ellas, Dimosios Paideia, but there seems to be no trace of it today.

(39) Carnot, op.cit., p.55.

(40) Bulletin de la Société (etc.), vol.VII (1835), pp.91 ff.

(41) Alk aspects of American philhellenism and generally of Greek-American contacts during the period 1775-1865 are fully covered by Larrabee, Hellas.

(42) Ibid., p.177.

(43) Both the Missionary Herald, and the Reports of the American Board of Commissioners, provide abundant information about these refugees.

(44) Missionary Herald, 1824, p.32.

(45) On Apostolidis Sofoklis see Layton, The Modern Greek Collection, pp.5 ff. On Perdicaris see Larrabee, op.cit., passim.

(46) Elias Riggs said about him: "I esteem him as a scholar and as a man" (Missionary Herald, 1833, p.309). His name appearsaamong the teachers on the Plan of King's Gymnasium in Athens, mentioned above (p.175).

(47) See, for instance, Missionary Herald, 1835, p.6.

(48) Anderson, History, vol.II, pp.505-506. Some further points on Petrokokkinos' life see in Larrabee, op.cit., p.326.

(49) Memorial Volume, p.330.

(50) Loc.cit.

(51) Ibid., p.332.

(52) Anderson, op.cit., p.144.

(53) Anderson, Observations, p.32.

CHAPTER IV; Section d

(1) Stanhope, Greece, p.6

(2) On the Loans see, generally, Dakin, British and American Philhellenes, passim. See also the rather biased works of Lignadis (To Daneion) and St.Clair (That Greece Might Still be Free), who seems to believe that almost everything done by the London Greek Committee was planned to serve the interests of its members in the affair of the Loans.

(3) Lists of members were published in every volume of the BFSSR.

(4) On Stanhope's presence at the meeting in Paris see Laborde, Rapport, p.15; on his membership, ibid., p.38; Blaquiere's membership is announced in the Journal d'Education, vol.XVIII (1825-1826), p.14.

(5) Journal d'Education, vol.XVIII (1825-1826) pp.31 ff.

(6) Byron was Vice-President of the Society from its foundation to 1821.

(7) On the Byron - Stanhope relationship see, mainly, Dakin, op.cit., pp.63 ff.; and Woodhouse The Philhellenes, p.108.

(8) Quarterly Review, vol.XXVIII, p.475.

(9) Idem., vol.XXXV, p.227. Cf. the following view expressed by G. Waddington (A Visit, p.154):

> "The only key to their (the Greeks') affections is the loan. They ask neither for our counsels, nor our hospitals, nor our officers, nor our Lancasterian schools".

(10) Masson, Testimonials, Second Series, p.iii.

(11) This page of the unpublished part of Howe's journal which is kept in the Gennadium Library in Athens, has been published in Greek translation by O. Dimitrakopoulos in his Introduction to the second Greek edition of Howe's Journal. To the courtesy of Mr. Dimitrakopoulos I owe the transcript of the original English text used here.

(12) Masson, An Apology, p.38.

(13) Efimeris ton Athinon, 5 June 1825.

(14) Geniki Efimeris, 3 July 1826.

(15) See, for instance, Forster's letter to Masson dated 24 October 1825 (Society of Friends, Temp. Mss. 7/16); another one (6 May 1827) was published in Masson, Testimonials, Second Series, p.18.

(16) A rather incomplete biography of Masson has been published by D.K. Vardouniotis in the Epetiris of the Filologikos Syllogos Parnassos (vol.XI (1915), pp.225-234). Fewer, but better documented facts about him see in Dakin, op.cit., passim, and especially p.206.

(17) The three issues are dated 12 January, 3 and 24 February 1838.

(18) Masson, Testimonials, Second Series, p.iv.

(19) This translation of the original Italian see in Masson, op.cit., p.6.

(20) BFSSR., 1825, p.41.

(21) Blaquiere, Narrative, (pt.I), p.118, and (pt.II), p.170. See also BFSSR., 1828, p.24; idem., 1829, p.38; and Missionary Register, 1829, p.488, for indications that the Society failed in an attempt to appoint a teacher in Greece.

(22) That Euphemia Robertson had been trained by the School Society is recorded in the BFSSR., 1831, p.55; the progress of her school in Corfu is mentioned idem, 1830, p.94.

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CHAPTER V

(1) This chapter is basically a synthesis of the material presented in the previous pages. Consequently the notes below are restricted to necessary clarifications, and to references for quotations and information recorded here for the first time in this study.

(2) The English translation of Pecchio's Relazione has been used here (Emerson et al., A Picture, vol.II, pp.161 ff.).

(3) The terms used here follow the English translation; it should, however, be noted that their Greek equivalents are not always obvious, not only because the Greek original seems to be still missing, but also because there was no consistency in terms used in Greece at the time.

(4) Various terms are used in Greek texts regarding this School at Argos. This both makes attempts to establish its development more difficult, and is a good example of the point raised in the previous note. See also pp.90 and 91 above.

(5) This description is based on Constantas' Report to Pecchio, the summary of the Report of the 1824 Committee as presented in the O Filos tou Nomou (14 July 1824), and Rovani (Storia, pp.43-44).

(6) Details on deliberations about and actions taken for the School of Music, see, for instance, in the Geniki Efimeris, 9 November 1827; idem., 19 November 1827; and Daskalakis, Keimena-Pigai, vol.III, pp.153 ff.

(7) Dimakopoulos, Kodix Nomon, p.221. See also generally, but with no specific reference to the School, G. Pournaropoulos, "Iatriki kai Iatroi kata tin Ethnegersian" in Nea Estia, vol.88, pp.212 ff.

(8) A most significant text in this respect is a document already referred to previously (p.97) issued by the Ministry of Religion on 10 July 1825 (Daskalakis, op.cit., p.88); it underlines the need for free teaching to be provided for children who were not catered for in private schools.

(9) Evangelidis (I Paideia, vol.I, p.206) concludes that before the War of Independence there was no provision for the education of girls. But, as mentioned, during the War girls' schools functioned, and in many instances primary schools were co-educational (Daskalakis, op.cit., passim). Nevertheless, I Venthylos, on whom more is said in the next chapter, was critical of the fact that in August 1829 "half the nation, (i.e.) the young girls (...) are condemned to ignorance" (Daskalakis, op.cit., p.258).

(10) Fotios Chrysanthopoulos (Fotakos), Apomnimonevmata ta peri tis Ellinikis Epanastæos, vol.II, Athens, 1899, p.425. See also note (33) to Chapter IV, section (a) above.

(11) Emerson et al., op.cit., pp.162-163.

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CHAPTER VI

(1) The most important among the monographs are: Velelis, O Capodistrias; Petrondas, Capodistrias et Eynard; N.I. Exarchopoulos, Logos peri tis Ekpaideftikis kai Thriskeftikis Draseos tou Capodistriou, Athens, 1917; Eleni E. Koukou, "Apo to Ekpaideftikon Ergon tou I. Capodistria" in Deltiom Istorikis kai Ethnologikis Etaireias, vol.XI (1956), pp.214-222. Also closely linked with the subject are: Koukou, O Capodistrias; Eleni D. Belia, I Ekpaidefsis eis tin Lakonian kai tin Messinian kata tin Capodistriakin Periodon (1828-1832), Athens, 1970; Constantinopoulos, I Aigina. Further, Ap. Daskalakis in his lecture "I Elliniki Paideia kata ton Agona tis Eleftherias" (Epistimoniki Epetiris tis Filosofikis Scholis tou Panepistimiou Athinon, vol.VIII (1957-1958), pp.268-288) covers the Capodistrian period as well.

(2) See pp.69 ff. above.

(3) Daskalakis, Keimena-Pigai, vol.III, p.201. See also Constantas' AAutobiographical Note in Sperantzas, O Grigorios Constantas, p.99.

(4) On the Committee see above pp.81 ff.

(5) His testament has been published by Tasos Gritsopoulos, in the Deltion Istorikis kai Ethnologikis Etaireias, vol.XV (1961), pp.351 ff. On his former relationship with Capodistrias see Koukou, O Capodistrias, pp.37-38.

(6) Trikoupis, Istoria, vol.IV, p.290.

(7) On these later appointments see Dimakopoulos, I Dioiki tiki Organosis, (1) and (II); and (E. Rizos Rangabe), Livre d'Or de la Noblesse Phanariote (etc.), Athens, 1904(2), p.219. See also Daskalakis, op.cit., pp.2083-84.

(8) On his earlier involvements in education see pp.73,141, 142 and 143 above; and Archeia Palingenesias, vol.II, p. 403. See also Sperantzas, op.cit., pp.72-73.

(9) The relative documents have been reprinted in Daskalakis, op.cit., pp.247 ff.

(10) The Hellenic Kingdom, p.26.

(11) See above, pp.165 ff. for Constantinou; pp.151 ff. for Pieridis; and pp.198-199 for Cleovoulos.

(12) For a short biographical note see I.N. Theodorakopoulos, "Egelos kai Ioannis Venthylos" in Praktika tis Akadimias Athinon, vol.XLIV (1969), Athens, 1970, pp.70-71. For an example of Venthylos' attitude towards the authorities, see Constantinopoulos, op.cit., p.53.

(13) Denison, A History, p.161. On Venthylos' relationship with the American J.C. Richmond, see Larrabee, Hellas, p.324.

(14) See two printed circulars on the matter, to be found in the British Museum Library (1312.d.15), reporting meetings in Philadelphia (6 December 1831) and Hartford (17 January 1832). See also Larrabee, op.cit., p.198.

(15) Anderson, Observations, p.153.

(16) See pp.109 ff. above.

(17) See Capodistrias' letter to Nikitopplos (17 April 1828) reprinted in Daskalakis, op.cit., p.164; his appointment at the Orphanage (16 May 1829) see idem., pp.201-202.

(18) The document on the appointment of the Committee (18 October 1829) see idem., pp.331-332.

(19) See, generally, Manis, Andreas Moustoxydis. Some further documents on the matter have been collected in Daskalakis, op.cit., pp.334 ff.

(20) See minutes of some meetings of the Committee idem., pp.399 ff. and passim. See idem., pp.760 ff. Nikitoplos' report to the Committee (13 February 1830).

(21) On Kokkonis, generally, see Amariotou, Io.P. Kokkonis. His first book (Peri Politeion), a political treatise, has been considered very liberal in the context of Greek political writing of the time. (Svolos-Vlachos, Ta Syntagmata, vol.I, pp.138-139). See also D.G. Apostolopoulos, "Simeioseis stin Epistolin tou I. Kokkoni pros ton K. Asopio" in Nea Estia, vol.88, pp.262-265. A few further points on his role in Greek education see in Chr.P. Oikonomou, "I Stoicheiodis Ekpaidefsis kata tin Teleftaian Ekatontaetian en Elladi", (Epetiris Dimotikis Ekpaidefseos, vol.I (1932), pp.88 ff.).

(22) For an example of Moustoxydis attitude towards him (June 1830) see Daskalakis, op.cit., pp.1023 ff. Nikitoplos' intention to go to Paris is mentioned in a letter he addressed to the Minister of Education on 10 October 1830 (ibid., p.1396).

(23) See idem., p.1600 his application (2 January 1831); p.1705 the official approval; and Evangelidis, I Paideia, vol.I, p.332 his resignation.

(24) Missionary Herald, 1831, p.317. Cf. a similar view expressed by G. Gennadios, idem., p.318.

(25) Such a view is expressed, for instance, by Papadopoulos Vretos, Mémoires, vol.II, p.18. Petrondas (op.cit., p.32) even speaks of "dévouement" and "admiration" expressed by Dutrône for Capodistrias.

(26) Extraits de la Correspondance, p.25.

(27) On his contacts with the Société see, for instance, one of his letters to it (Bulletin de la Société (etc.), vol.I (1829), pp.201-202); see also Missionary Herald, 1830, pp.41 ff.

(28) Missionary Herald, 1831, p.279.

(29) It could also be noted in passing that between 1830 and 1832 what appears to have been the only girls' school in Nafplion was run by a Frenchwoman, Charlotte Volmerange (see, e.g., Constantinopoulos, op.cit., p.68).

(30) See Evangelidis, op.cit., vol.I, p.CXXXIX; and Papadopoulo-Vretos, op.cit., vol.II, p.110.

(31) See, generally, Daskalakis, Korais kai Capodistrias.

(32) p.143.

(33) See, generally, Show, American Contacts; and Larrabee, op.cit.

(34) Missionary Herald, 1833, p.18.

(35) Idem., 1836, p.5.

(36) See, for instance, Missionary Register, 1835, p.76.

(37) A description of the School and its development, together with the reaction of the Society to the proposed expansion of the educational activities of its agents are to be found in Denison, op.cit., pp.161 ff.

(38) Mamoukas, Ta kata tin Anagennisinn, vol.IX, p.71.

(39) Geniki Efimeris, 18 April 1828. It should be noted, however, that the same paper had published some days earlier (24 March) a short article praising Dutrône for his offers.

(40) Reported in the Missionary Register, 1821, p.187. Among others who expressed similar fears mention could be made of William Allen (Life, vol.II, p.94).

(41) Missionary Register, 1829, p.170.

(42) See note (14) above.

(43) A detailed account of Anderson's mission was printed in the Missionary Herald, 1830, pp.41-49.

(44) Idem., p.47.

(45) Indication of his disagreements with some of the leading teachers of the time is given in Manis, op.cit., pp.77 ff.

(46) The issue is also related to the role played in this respect by the missionaries throughttheir translations of the Bible and their other publications. Vaporis' investigation (The Controversy) is comprehensive, but was planned to cover only a part of the issue.

(47) Vol.XXXIV (1832), p.2.

(48) Church Missionary Society archives, M/0.43, No 11.

(49) Quoted by Larrabee, op.cit., p.192.

(50) Keppel, Narrative, p.13

(51) The Plan was also printed in the BFSSR., 1831, pp.114 ff. For some details on activities which led to the establishment of the Society, see Larrabee, op.cit., pp.189 ff.

(52) On Capodistrias' attitude towards the British, see, for instance, Dakin, British and American Philhellenes, pp.180 ff. and 186 ff. On Masson see pp.212 ff. above. On the Philorthodox Society see particularly Petropoulos, Politics and Statecraft, passim, and especially pp.519 ff. for a formerly unpublished document.

(53) BFSSR., 1829, pp.28-29.

(54) Missionary Register, 1829, p.47.

(55) Missionary Herald, 1831, p.219. On his having been asked by Metaxas to take reponsibility for the schools of the Northern Cyclades, see, for instance, Denison, op.cit., pt.I, pp.122-123.

(56) Oikonomos, Ta Sqzomena, pp.78-79; the letter explicitly mentions only the dangers deriving from the distribution of Protestant publications, but it leaves no doubt as to the Patriarch's objection to missionary activity in general.

(57) See his last letter to the authorities in Syra, in Daskalakis, op.cit., pp.1687 ff.

(58) Cf., for instance, comments published in the Missionary Herald (1831, p.280) according to which attempts to interfere with the educational work of the missionaries should not be attributed to the government but "to the force of circumstances, which may have given the priesthood an undue influence in the councils of state". Moreover, the Committee of the American Board of Commissioners made it clear in 1832 (idem., 1832, p.4) that they "have never had any thought of embarassing their operations in Greece, by any sort of connection with the Greek government".

(59) Keppel, op.cit., p.27. There is a striking similarity between the description of this meeting with another one made by Howe (Letters and Journals, vol.I, pp. 294-295):

> "Entering the chamber of Capo d'Istrias, he received me politely, asking quickly if I spoke French. 'A little', said I. 'Eh bien! c'est tout ce quiil faut, vous pouvez me comprendre!' as much as to say, 'I will do all the talking, you need only listen' ".

Keppel and Howe were acquainted, but there is no reason to believe that their descriptions are not reflecting true situations.

(60) Maurer (Das Griechische Volk, vol.I, pp.485 ff.) gives a short description of educational developments under Capodistrias, leaving no doubt that very little had been achieved in the field. On Thiersch see note (24) to Chapter IVc above.

(61) Stourza's views on German education were published in Mémoire sur l'état actuel de l'Allemagne published in Paris in 1818. That Stourza had prepared a plan is mentioned by both K. Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Geschichte Griechenlands, vol.II, p.86 of the Greek translation) and Maurer (loc.cit.) who even suggests that he had seen the original text.

(62) Pellion, La Grèce, pp.103-104. It should, however, be noted that there is evidence to suggest that Pellion was influenced in his opinion by Dutrône.

(63) Geniki Efimeris, 26 August 1831.

(64) This is the case with all works mentioned in note (1) above, except Constantopoulos' I Aigina which is presented in a more objective (though less scholarly) way. It is interesting to note here the following remark made by Finlay:

> "Capodistrias made a great show of promoting education, but he did very little for facilitating public instruction (...); (he) succeeded in deceiving the Liberals in France, Germany and Switzerland, into a belief that he was labouring sincerely to improve public instruction (...). (History, vol.VII, pp.48-49).

(65) See, particularly, Koukou, op.cit.

(66) On the Greek leaders who held these views see, for instance, Woodhouse, The Story, pp.125 ff.

(67) The importance attached by Korais to education has been demonstrated in the previous pages of this study; see particularly Chapter II above.

(68) Dakin, op.cit., p.187.

(69) See his Rapport presenté à Sa Majesté l'Empereur Alexandre par S.E.M. le comte Capo d'Istria, sur les établissements de M. de Fellenberg à Hofwyl, en Octobre 1814 à Paris, Genève-Paris, 1817.

(70) Kipper, Geschichte, p.28 of the Greek translation.

(71) See the documents (1 November 1829) relative to the planning of the School, reprinted in Daskalakis, op. cit., vol.III, pp.403-404.

(72) Seton-Watson, The Russian Empire, p.218.

(73) Daskalakis, op.cit., vol.I, pp.405 ff.

(74) Farmakidis, Apologia, pp.13 and 217.

(75) Diligiannis-Zinopoulos, Elliniki Nomothesia, vol.VII,p.8.

(76) Ekthesis tou Grammateos (etc.), 1 August 1832, p.6.

(77) Missionary Herald, 1833, p.311; see also idem., p.398 a letter (dated 18 November 1832) written by Rizos to Jonas King, congratulating him for his educational activities in Athens.

(78) On the Loi Guizot see Gontard, L'Enseignement Primaire, pp.493 ff.; on its relationship with the Greek 1834 legislation see Alexis Dimaras, Post-War Educational Reform, pp.11 ff.

(79) Rangavis, Apomnimonevmata, vol.I, pp.387.

(80) Missionary Register, 1835, p.72.

(81) The decree (6/18 February 1834) regarding these appointments was published in the Efimeris tis Kyverniseos, 1834, p.18; see also pp.149 and 176 above. It is interesting to note in this respect that it was reported that in January 1838 out of the twenty students at the University of Athens six were former pupils of King's school (Missionary Herald, 1839, p.4).

(82) Oikonomos, op.cit., vol.II, pp.301 ff.

(83) BFSSR., 1836, pp.93-94. The relative decree see in Efimeris tis Kyverniseos, 1835, p144(b).

(84) See pp.192 ff. above.

(85) p.5.

(86) Vaporis, op.cit., pp.182 ff.

(87) Shaw, American Contacts, pp.80 ff.

(88) See, generally, Paschalis, Theophilos Kairis.

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B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Note: For technical and methodological reasons two lists have been drawn up, one for texts in Greek and one for texts in English and other languages.

Each list is comprehensive, indluding, in strict alphabetical order, both primary and secondary sources, published and unpublished, books and periodicals, newspapers and archives, etc.

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